

ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM:
BAPTISMAL INSTRUCTIONS

ANCIENT CHRISTIAN WRITERS

THE WORKS OF THE FATHERS IN TRANSLATION

EDITED BY

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ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM: BAPTISMAL INSTRUCTIONS

TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED

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ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM:
BAPTISMAL INSTRUCTIONS

INTRODUCTION

Baptism, its symbolism, and its place in the economy of redemption have always been a matter of extreme interest to theologians, liturgists, and all members of Christ's Body. No part of the Church Militant can remain indifferent to any knowledge, new or old, of the sacrament of regeneration; when some new knowledge emerges from the obscurity of nearly sixteen centuries, the entire Church must leap for joy. The recent discovery of a MS. in a monastery on Mount Athos in Greece gives occasion for such joy because, among other things, this MS. contains a complete series of eight instructions on baptism given by St. John Chrysostom, probably at Antioch, about 390 A.D.

LIFE

This discovery throws new light on a hitherto little-known aspect of Chrysostom's pastoral activity. He was born about 347 A.D. at Antioch, where he acquired fame as a student and speaker in the school of the pagan rhetorician Libanius. His reputation as an orator followed him into the Church. Baptized in 370, he abandoned the world to take up the study of Scripture as both monk and hermit; but the rigors of his fasts undermined his health and forced his return to Antioch, where he was ordained to the priesthood in 386. Here began his outstanding career as an exegete, preacher, and moralist, functions which he fulfilled under Bishop Flavian until 397.¹

In that year Chrysostom was at once elevated to the patriarchate of Constantinople and plunged into a morass of intrigue, both political and ecclesiastical. Always standing firm

on principle, but often lacking the prudence of the worldly-wise, Chrysostom did much to alleviate the downtrodden masses, to reform the clergy, and to make enemies in high places. Among the hierarchy Theophilus of Alexandria was his sworn foe; at court the Empress Eudoxia dedicated herself to bringing about his downfall. Theophilus' long-standing resentment exploded when Chrysostom gave shelter to some Egyptian monks whom Theophilus had excommunicated. In 403 he summoned an illegal synod, packed it with his own Egyptian bishops, and ordered Chrysostom to appear before it. Chrysostom refused and was deposed from his see *in absentia*. Theophilus pressed for his exile and Eudoxia agreed, because she believed reports that Chrysostom had referred to her as Jezebel and she considered such a reference treasonable. Chrysostom was immediately recalled from exile when the people of Constantinople threatened to riot. But the intrigue continued, the edict of exile was reissued, and Chrysostom left Constantinople for the last time in 404.

Chrysostom appealed to Rome, and Innocent I, with the co-operation of Honorius, the Western Emperor, ordered that a new synod be held. When the papal envoys were thrown into prison in Constantinople, with the result that the synod never convened, Innocent broke off communion with Constantinople. The rift was not healed until after Chrysostom's death, when his name was restored to honor by being included in the diptychs.²

From exile Chrysostom continued in contact with his flock by correspondence, and over two hundred letters have come down to us. Friends also visited him at his first place of exile, Cucusus in Armenia. He was deprived of this consolation when he was ordered to a more remote place, Pityus, six hundred marine miles across the Black Sea from Constantinople. But the trip into exile had to be made overland,

across six mountain ranges and numerous rivers. Chrysostom did not survive the rigors of the forced marches of his military escort and, three years after he left Constantinople, he died on September 14, 407, uttering as his last words, "Glory to God for all things."

As a diplomat dealing with court and clergy, Chrysostom certainly enjoyed no great success, but as an orator and exegete he was without peer. Although well schooled in the precepts of rhetoric, he was not an orator in the sense that Demosthenes, Cicero, and Bourdaloue were orators; their speeches or sermons consisted of a certain number of carefully developed points ordered to a single end which gave unity to all they said, whereas Chrysostom's homilies have no such unity. They consist of several parts more or less complete in themselves but often with only the flimsiest of bonds between parts. Sometimes his treatment of a point is extremely sketchy; sometimes his repetitions grow tedious; sometimes he announces a topic and, after a few words, suddenly abandons it for some other. Yet his homilies, which often lack a structural unity, always have an interior, a spiritual unity. There is never a digression, never a detail, which swerves from the end he constantly sets for himself: the confirmation of his hearers' faith and the correction of their lives. No matter how it puzzles us, no matter what we think of the tastes of the Eastern Greeks who heard him, no matter how foreign his sermons are to our standards of today, the fact is that no orator has aroused more enthusiasm or exercised so complete a mastery over his audience. Often they interrupted him with cries of admiration, applause, and tears of repentance.⁸

As an exegete, Chrysostom manifests a profound knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures which he had studied for four years under Diodorus. Like his teacher, he was of the Anti-

ochene school of exegesis and gave to the Scriptures their literal and grammatical sense. The allegory of Alexandria is foreign to Chrysostom's exegesis; where he does use allegory at all, it is the simple kind which sees a reality through a type. Thus, Moses is a type of Christ, the Red Sea a type of baptism, the paschal lamb a type of the Lamb of God. He is much more interested in instructing his people and correcting their faults; he uses his penetrating insight into the meaning of Scripture to find therein applications to the lives and conduct of his flock. And in this he is supreme. When he began to preach at Antioch (386), the Church, which had been so long and so violently torn with heresy, was enjoying a temporary doctrinal calm. This was the time for solid moral instruction. Many Christians were such in name only. They frequented the wine shops, they haunted the theater and the hippodrome, they fasted with the Jews and celebrated the kalends of January with the pagans. These people were not attracted to the Church because of the profundity of its dogma; it was the moral teaching of the Gospels, the ideal of Christian charity, and the hope that God would rescue them in their miseries that brought them into the Church. Chrysostom's task was to keep them there and to make them worthy members of Christ's Body. Hence he must improve them, instruct them, interest them, edify them, and keep them from falling back into their old errors and corruption. It is no surprise, therefore, that his exegesis is never far removed from instruction in morality and exhortation to the life of virtue.*

STAVRONIKITA 6

However, Chrysostom's chief interest for this volume lies in his activity as a mystagogue for the baptismal candidates

and as their instructor in Christian doctrine and morality immediately after their initiation. This aspect of Chrysostom's pastoral activity came into sharp focus in 1955 with the discovery by Père Antoine Wenger, A.A., of a complete series of catechetical instructions by Chrysostom which he edited and published shortly thereafter.⁵

When Wenger brought to light MS. 6 of the monastery of Stavronikita on Mount Athos, he did not in fact discover it; rather he rediscovered it, because not only had the existence of the MS. been previously known but it had been mentioned at least twice in print. Spyridon Lampros⁶ notes briefly that Stavronikita 6 is a parchment codex of the eleventh century containing 24 homilies of Chrysostom, the last of which is mutilated. Lampros was correct about the age of the MS. but wrong about the number of homilies it contained.⁷ Gabriel, a monk of Stavronikita, gave a hint of the true contents of the MS. when he wrote an article for a little-known Greek periodical and mentioned not 24 but 47 homilies and specified some as instructional homilies (*ὁμιλῖαι κατηχητικαί*).⁸

Although Wenger had not read Gabriel's article at the time of his discovery, he had read the description of Lampros. When he found that Stavronikita 6 contained 453 folios, he wondered how it could contain only 24 homilies. When he compared the opening words of the first few homilies with the alphabetical list of beginnings of Chrysostom's works, he knew that Stavronikita 6 was a rare volume indeed. The *incipit* of neither the first nor the second homily was to be found in the alphabetical index; the third was the long-sought Greek original of a sermon familiar to the West only in a Latin translation. Homilies 4 through 8 also had beginnings that were hitherto unknown. Wenger realized that he had made a momentous and most important discovery. Even where its contents duplicate sermons already known, the

MS. is of unquestioned value; where it preserves sermons hitherto unknown, its value becomes unique. Such is the case with the eight catechetical instructions which stand at the head of the book and form the most significant part of the discovery.

CHRYSTOSTOM'S CATECHETICAL HOMILIES

This new find gives rise to many questions: What is the value of the new homilies and what is their relationship to other works in which Chrysostom instructed the catechumens? Are they authentic? Where and when were they delivered? Each of these questions and others arising from them will now be considered.

First, let us look at the value of these new instructions and the relationship in which they stand to other similar works of Chrysostom. Antecedently, any newly-discovered work on the sacrament of regeneration and the ritual by which it was conferred is of outstanding value to both the sacramental theologian and the liturgist. These homilies are almost unique because of the new light or confirmatory evidence which they lend to our understanding of baptism as practiced in an important see of the Eastern Church at the end of the fourth century. We do have the baptismal catecheses of Cyril of Jerusalem⁹ and of Theodore of Mopsuestia¹⁰ with which to compare the new instructions, and these comparisons will be made, wherever pertinent, in the annotations. Both the translation of and commentary on the new instructions of Chrysostom will show clearly that they rank as *primae inter pares*.

If they be first among their peers, what peers are found in Chrysostom's own work? This leads to a rather complicated problem, which will perhaps be best treated by considering

such catechetical sermons of Chrysostom as have come down to us in the order of their subsequent publication. There are three overlapping series of catechetical instructions properly attributed to Chrysostom: that of Montfaucon, that of Papadopoulos-Kerameus, and, finally, the recently-discovered series of Stavronikita published by Wenger.

THE SERIES OF MONTFAUCON

The Montfaucon series consists of two instructions which the great Benedictine scholar called *Ad illuminandos catechesis prima et altera*.¹¹ They are truly a first and a second catechesis, but the internal evidence makes it clear that they do not belong to the same series. Montfaucon personally knew no MS. of the first and merely reprinted it from the earlier edition of Fronton du Duc, S.J., who probably had based his text on an eleventh-century MS., 245 of the Coislin collection. The second has a much richer tradition and is found as the last of the series of 22 homilies *De statuis*, preached at Antioch during the Lent of 387, the days of terror during which the population awaited the Emperor's reprisals for having overthrown the imperial statues in protest against an addition to an already intolerable tax burden.¹²

That Montfaucon should have joined the two catecheses is not utterly without foundation, because the first is very clearly the first of a series and gave the hearers ten days to break the habit of swearing oaths.¹³ The second is with equal certainty the second of a series and was delivered ten days after the first (which is now lost) but makes no mention of the oaths. Rather it speaks of the various names of baptism, but this was a topic expressly treated in Montf. 1. From this and other evidence which will be presented in a moment, it becomes clear that the two catecheses are properly called first

and second but that they are not first and second in the same series.

THE PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS SERIES

Although the rest of the series to which Montf. 2 belongs may never be discovered, it is the world's good fortune that the series to which Montf. 1 belongs is now complete. The good fortune, however, is not as well known as it should be, because the learned Byzantine scholar who discovered the complete series, A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, published it in 1909 as part of a volume in a little-known Russian series of publications from the then University of St. Petersburg.¹⁴ Papadopoulos-Kerameus discovered the series in a MS. of the Synodal Library of Moscow (*codex graecus* 215).¹⁵ The first instruction corresponds, with some variations, to Montf. 1 and is followed by three others numbered 2, 3, and 4. It is unfortunate that the obscurity of the series in which they were published left them virtually unknown even to the specialists.¹⁶ It may be the chief merit of the present translation that these homilies are now made really available to the Western world for the first time.

There can be no doubt of the authenticity of the sermons nor of the fact that they constitute a series delivered at Antioch. The first of the four had already been accepted as authentic by such scholars as Fronton du Duc, S.J., and Montfaucon, and all of them carry the trade-mark of Chrysostom; the content, the manner, and the style all give forth the authentic ring of the Mouth of Gold. A passage at the end of the third homily fixes Antioch as the place where they were delivered: Chrysostom asks the candidates for baptism to pray for the bishop from whose hands they will soon receive this great blessing, and also for the priests, among

whom he counts himself. This set of circumstances is verified only at Antioch.

It is equally clear that these homilies constitute a series. This is especially true of the first three, which are closely bound together. In the first, Chrysostom scores the evil custom of swearing oaths and gives his auditors ten days to break the habit; at the beginning of the second, delivered ten days after the first, he asks them if they have remembered their promise and broken the habit. Furthermore, in the second he refers back to the first, where he had promised to tell them why baptism was administered during the Easter season and fulfils the promise. Together with the question of the season, he had raised in the first homily the further question of the meaning and symbolism of exorcism; this question is again raised in the second and this time he answers it. And again, in the second, he returns to and completes, as it were, the tirade against oaths which he had begun in the first.

The third is also closely linked to both the second and the first. In the second Chrysostom started to explain why the initiated are called faithful, while the uninitiated are called catechumens. Although he does not explain formally the name of catechumen anywhere in the series, he does return to and explain the name of faithful in the third. Also in the third, toward the end, Chrysostom reminds the catechumens of the story he had told them at the beginning, the story of Joseph and Pharaoh's cupbearer and the promise Joseph had exacted: *Remember me when it shall be well with thee.*¹⁷ This story is precisely the one found in the beginning of the first homily, Montf. 1. Hence, it is quite clear that these three are well-connected units of a series¹⁸ and the authenticity of one is an argument for the authenticity of all.

The fourth homily is a sermon to the neophytes and is in

many ways a special case. Like Montf. 1, it had already been published in the West but in a Latin translation. Like Montf. 1, it had come to the attention of Montfaucon but, inexplicably, he had rejected it with the comment: *quisquilia*, rubbish!¹⁹ Unlike any of the others of this series, it has a history in the florilegia and in the *Sacra parallela* of John Damascene.²⁰ The point which is perhaps of the greatest interest is that it stands as the third sermon in the new series discovered by Wenger in the monastery of Stavronikita. To which series, then, does it properly belong? There is some evidence that the sermon exists in two recensions, and it may not be too rash to say it belongs to both. However, this is far from certain, since it seems unlikely that Chrysostom would have delivered almost the identical sermon on two or more occasions in the same city, even if delivered at intervals of at least a year and to audiences which were presumably different.²¹ An Easter sermon like this might well have been published separately and later inserted in or appended to either series.

THE STAVRONIKITA SERIES

The Stavronikita series²² published by Wenger is both similar to and different from the series of Papadopoulos-Kerameus and Montfaucon. Like them it has a mystagogical content and explicates the ritual leading up to the bath of regeneration. But it goes beyond the other two series by including five postbaptismal discourses delivered during Easter week.

In the new series the prebaptismal and mystagogical catecheses are reduced to two; of these, one was given at the beginning of the period of instruction and the other at the end. The third Instruction, given probably on Holy Satur-

day night after the reception of baptism and the Eucharist, is partly mystagogical and partly an occasional sermon. The last five are catecheses only in the broad sense; delivered during Easter week, their purpose is to give the newly illumined a moral instruction and what we might call a concrete initiation into the Christian way of life.

This moral aspect is predominant even in the two mystagogical discourses properly so called, because any instruction given by Chrysostom necessarily mirrors his own mentality; hence, he leads the catechumens along the path of asceticism and progress in virtue rather than into speculative considerations on the articles of faith. For him there was no purpose in receiving baptism if one had not first purified the eyes of the soul for the reception of the divine illumination.

Since the three series overlap, it may be well to summarize their interrelationships. The series published by Papadopoulos-Kerameus is continuous and complete with its four homilies. The first was preached thirty days before Easter and opened the course of instructions for the catechumens, the second was delivered ten days after the first, the third was given on Holy Thursday, and the fourth on Holy Saturday night. The first is identical with the first of Montfaucon, and the fourth with the third of Stavronikita. Montfaucon's second is the second of a series similar to that of Papadopoulos-Kerameus, but the other sermons have been lost. In the new series from Stavronikita the two mystagogical discourses cover largely the same ground as do Montf. 1, PK 2 and 3, and Montf. 2. Stav. 3, the sermon to the neophytes, is identical with PK 4. In Stav. 4-8, the postbaptismal discourses, Chrysostom shines as a moral guide and a master of the spiritual life. Even if these sermons deal less directly with the sacrament of baptism, they are nonetheless of the highest value and rank among his finest homilies.²³

AUTHENTICITY

Wenger has assembled impressive evidence to prove that the Stavronikita series is quite properly attributed to Chrysostom.²⁴ It is difficult to counterfeit a genius like that of Chrysostom, which stamps itself inimitably on his work. What are the chief characteristics of the Chrysostom trade-mark? According to Wenger they are: the richness and concrete character of his language, the abundance of examples taken from the political and social life of his times, the predominance of moral considerations over speculative theology, the primacy of pastoral preoccupations, and, finally, an unflagging eloquence.²⁵ Even a cursory reading of the new catecheses leaves no doubt but that, if these be the true trade-mark of Chrysostom, the instructions from Stavronikita are bona fide sermons of the Mouth of Gold.

External evidence exists only for the sermon to the neophytes,²⁶ so Wenger stresses the importance of the internal evidence and rests his arguments for authenticity on four points: (1) parallels between the catecheses and admittedly authentic works of Chrysostom; (2) the consistency with which he cites and explicates the same scriptural reading, be it in a correct or a contaminated form; (3) the explanation of an obscure passage in the catecheses by a passage from an authentic sermon; (4) the similarity of terminal formulas. Some of these reasons may seem less valid than others, but their accumulated weight leaves little doubt as to the authenticity of the new series.

The first three points are adequately treated in the annotations to the text.²⁷ In the matter of the terminal formulas, Wenger points out that these endings are so characteristic as to be a trade-mark of Chrysostom. They are typical without being stereotyped, but the margin for variation is slender and

the variations themselves become typical. Not all the authentic sermons show the typical ending but the vast majority do. It is found, for example, in nine out of ten sermons in the great commentaries on Scripture and in four out of five of the other homilies and panegyrics. All eight of the newly-discovered catecheses conform to the type in this matter.²⁸

ANTIOCH 390 (?)

For the history of liturgical practices it will be important to know whether these instructions were delivered at Antioch or Constantinople. There is clear evidence that the Papadopoulos-Kerameus series belongs to Antioch,²⁹ and the same seems to be the case with the Stavronikita series. Of the seven Easters during which Chrysostom was patriarch of Constantinople (398-404), we can rule out two: in 401 he was out of town, and many of that year's neophytes expressed regret that they had not received baptism at the hands of their bishop;³⁰ in 404 Chrysostom was confined to his residence, and the paschal ceremonies were marked by military interference and bloody rioting of which Palladius tells us in detail.³¹ The data of internal criticism are scarcely favorable to the other years at Constantinople, because in no place does Chrysostom speak as a bishop. Several times he speaks of his own sins committed after baptism; he asks the baptizands to plead his cause with God, not to imitate his bad example, but to keep themselves free from sin so that they may not have to follow him down the path of tears and repentance.³² Of course, Chrysostom the bishop is still Chrysostom the priest, but these humble protestations and the extremely familiar tone seem to suit the priest of Antioch rather than the patriarch of Constantinople.

However, there is surer evidence which constitutes almost

a decisive proof for Antioch. In the eighth Instruction given at the closing of the postbaptismal festival on Saturday of Easter week, Chrysostom addresses people from the countryside who speak another language. This linguistic situation suits Antioch rather than Constantinople.³³ At Antioch Greek was spoken in the city, but the countryside had kept its Syriac dialect, as Chrysostom himself tells us in a sermon which was certainly preached at Antioch, because he mentions that the bishop (Flavian) had gone into the country to celebrate there an anniversary of the martyrs. Chrysostom, who was preaching to a congregation which included people from the countryside, was glad to see the people of Antioch and the countryfolk united in piety, although separated by customs and language.³⁴

It seems reasonably sure, then, that these eight instructions belong to Chrysostom's ministry at Antioch. The great number of parallel passages which are found in the new series from Stavronikita and in the discourses published by Papadopoulos-Kerameus which were certainly delivered at Antioch, the very strong resemblance if not identity of liturgical practice in the two series, the equivalence of the sacred formulas, all lead to the conclusion that both series belong to the same place, Antioch.

If the argument for Antioch is sound, the time of their delivery must lie between 386, when Chrysostom started to preach,³⁵ and 398, when he went to Constantinople. Wenger argues very reasonably against 386 from the assured and familiar tone of the catecheses, which is noticeably different from the first eight sermons on Genesis, which belong to that year and reveal a rather cold skill of a trained rhetorician but lack the assurance and warmth of his later work.³⁶ During the Lent of 387 Chrysostom delivered the series of twenty-one homilies *De statu*, in which the chief theme is the struggle

against the evil habit of swearing. In fact, Montfaucon assigns his *Catechesis prima* to 387 because it contains a strong tirade against swearing so similar in tone to the homilies *De statutis*.³⁷ But Tillemont had previously expressed a serious objection to this opinion: if 387 is the correct date for this instruction, how is it that there is no allusion in it to the days of terror which Antioch experienced in the early days of March of that year?³⁸

The discovery by Papadopoulos-Kerameus of the remaining three discourses of the series to which Montfaucon's *Catechesis prima* belongs makes the date 387 altogether untenable. On Easter of that year Chrysostom delivered *De statutis* 21, which speaks of the return of Bishop Flavian, who had gone to Constantinople to plead with the Emperor Theodosius in behalf of his Antiochene flock and had won the imperial clemency for them. There is no trace of this happy event either in PK 3, given on Holy Thursday, or in the *Sermo ad neophytos*, the Easter homily. These reasons seem to hold good a fortiori for the Stavronikita homilies, which do not have the tirade against oaths in common with the *De statutis* series, as do the first two of the Papadopoulos-Kerameus series.

Wenger feels with good reason that the Papadopoulos-Kerameus series belongs to Lent of 388.³⁹ Chrysostom would have made his attacks against oaths toward the beginning of Lent. This theme finally wearied his hearers, but Chrysostom justified his insistence on the grounds that the roots are deep and the habit inveterate.⁴⁰ This same year and season saw Chrysostom deliver the first thirty-two of his homilies on Genesis,⁴¹ and twice in this commentary he tells us that he had that year conducted instructions for the catechumens. At the beginning of the twelfth homily of this series,⁴² he is summarizing his earlier discourses and mentions an interruption to the series during which he preached a sermon against

those who fast with the Jews and delivered an instruction to the catechumens. Wenger's hypothesis is that this instruction is Montfaucon's first, that is, the first in the series of Papadopoulos-Kerameus, delivered thirty days before Easter and right after the first eleven homilies on Genesis.⁴³

Again, at the beginning of the thirty-third homily on Genesis, Chrysostom says that his commentary on Genesis was interrupted by Holy Week, Easter, and the following week. During these days he had preached on Holy Thursday, Good Friday, Easter, and all during the following week to the newly baptized on the Acts of the Apostles.⁴⁴ These postbaptismal sermons must certainly be the four sermons *In principium actorum*, of which the first and third end with an address to the neophytes.⁴⁵ These four plus a fifth which has been lost certainly form a postbaptismal series belonging to the year 388 and corresponding to Instructions 4-8 of the Stavronikita series. Wenger takes the position, which is far from impossible, that these homilies *In principium actorum* complete the series of Papadopoulos-Kerameus, and, hence, assigns that series to 388.⁴⁶ This may or may not be so; what is certain is that the Stavronikita series must belong to the period between 389 and 398. The fact that there are more than thirty parallels between the new instructions and the homilies on Genesis of 388 makes it reasonable to assign the Stavronikita series to a date not too much later than 388. The fact that the new series shows some sixty parallels with the commentary on Matthew, which Baur assigns to the year 390, makes it reasonable to date these new instructions at about that time.⁴⁷

* * *

The translation was made from three different texts for the three different series. Wenger's *Jean Chrysostome. Huit*

catéchèses baptismales inédites (Paris 1957) served as the basis for the translation of the Stavronikita series. For all the catecheses of this series except the third, this text rests exclusively on Stavronikita *codex graecus* 6; the text of the third homily also rests on this MS., but Wenger has collated it with Moscow *codex graecus* 215, formerly of the Synodal library, and also with Paris (B.N.) *codex graecus* 700. The two catecheses of Montfaucon have been translated from his text as reprinted in MG 49.221-40. The translation of the second and third discourses in the series of Papadopoulos-Kerameus rests on his text published in *Varia graeca sacra* (St. Petersburg 1909).

The two catecheses of Montfaucon were translated into English by W. R. W. Stephens and T. P. Brandram in *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* 9 (New York 1889) 159-71. There is an unsigned English version of the *Sermo ad neophytos* (Stav. 3), under the title "A Newly Found Easter Homily by St. John Chrysostom," in *Worship* 35 (1960) 240-47. Wenger has given a French translation of all eight of the Stavronikita sermons together with his Greek text of this series. The *Cursus completus patrologiae* of Migne always features a parallel Latin translation in the Greek series; in MG 49 the Latin translation of *Catechesis prima* is attributed to Montfaucon and that of *Catechesis altera* to Bernardus Brixianus. To my knowledge, the second and third instructions of the Papadopoulos-Kerameus series have never been translated into any language prior to the present version.

My annotations to the Stavronikita series have stemmed in great measure from Wenger's notes. Baur's work has proved very useful for the commentaries on all twelve sermons. For liturgical matters, especially in the mystagogical discourses, I have gotten invaluable assistance from the work of J. Daniélou, S.J., *The Bible and the Liturgy* (Notre Dame 1956).

INSTRUCTIONAL HOMILIES OF OUR HOLY
FATHER JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, ARCHBISHOP
OF CONSTANTINOPLE, TO THOSE ABOUT TO
BE BAPTIZED AND TO THE NEWLY BAPTIZED

THE FIRST INSTRUCTION

Addressed to Those About to Be Baptized

THE CATECHUMEN IS INVITED TO THE SPIRITUAL MARRIAGE

1. This is a time for joy and gladness of the spirit.¹ Behold, the days of our longing and love, the days of your spiritual marriage, are close at hand. To call what takes place today a marriage would be no blunder; not only could we call it a marriage but even a marvelous and most unusual kind of military enlistment. Nor does any contradiction exist between marriage and military service. That no one may think there does, let him listen to the blessed Paul, the universal teacher, who has used both these similes. In one place he said: *I betrothed you to one spouse, that I might present you a chaste virgin to Christ.*² In another text he spoke as one arming soldiers about to go forth into battle and said: *Put on the armor of God, that you may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil.*³ (Did you see how St. Paul uses both similies in the same context?)

2. (Truly) today there is joy in heaven and on earth. For if there is such joy at one sinner who repents,⁴ (how much greater is the joy among angels and archangels and all the powers above,)⁵ as well as among all the creatures of earth, when they see so vast a throng suddenly scorning the devil's snares and earnestly desiring to be enrolled in the flock of Christ.

3. Come, then, let me talk to you as I would speak to a bride about to be led into the holy nuptial chamber.⁶ Let me give you, too, a glimpse of the Bridegroom's exceeding wealth

and of the ineffable kindness which He shows to His bride. Let me point out to her the sordid past from which she is escaping and the glorious future she is about to enjoy. And if you wish, let us first strip from her her garb and see the condition in which she is. Despite her plight, the Bridegroom still allows her to come to Him. This clearly shows us the boundless kindness of our common Master.⁷ He does not have her come to Him as His bride because He has longed for her comeliness, or her beauty, or the bloom of her body. On the contrary, the bride He has brought into the nuptial chamber is deformed and ugly, thoroughly and shamefully sordid, and, practically, wallowing in the very mire of her sins.

4. But let no one who hears these words of mine, fall into a crass and carnal interpretation of them. I am talking of the soul and its salvation. When the blessed Paul, that loftiest of souls, said: *I have betrothed you to one spouse, that I might present you a chaste virgin to Christ,*⁸ he merely meant that he espoused to Christ as chaste virgins those souls which had made progress toward piety.

5. Now that we have an exact understanding of this point, let us ascertain clearly how deformed the bride previously was, and then we will marvel at the Master's kindness. What could be more ugly than that soul which has abandoned its proper dignity, forgotten its noble birth from on high, made a display of worshiping idols of stone and wood, brute animals, and things less worthy of honor than these—a soul which has increased its ugliness by the smell of burning fat, the filth of blood, and the smoke of sacrifice? For from such sources as these soon arise the tinsel-trimmed parade of pleasures, the carousals, the drunkenness, the licentiousness, and all the disgraceful pursuits which bring joy to the demons whom they serve.

6. But when the good Master saw His bride in such a plight and swept down into what I might call the very abyss of wickedness, naked and unseemly, He considered neither her ugliness, nor her utter poverty, nor the enormity of her evils, but He manifested His own surpassing kindness and received her into His presence. Such is the disposition He reveals when He says through the prophet: *Hearken, O daughter, and see, and incline thy ear, and forget thy people and thy father's house. And the king shall greatly desire thy beauty.*⁹

7. See how, from the very outset, He reveals the goodness which is His, deigning to call by the name of daughter one who was so rebellious and had given herself over to unclean demons. Not only that, but consider too that He demands no accounting for her offenses, nor does He exact judgment, but only counsels and urges her to hear and accept His exhortation and remonstrance, and He encourages her to forget the past.

8. Did you see His ineffable kindness? Did you see His bountiful care? When the blessed David spoke those words, he addressed them to the whole world in its sorry plight; now it is opportune for us to proclaim them to those who have yearned for the yoke of Christ, and who have run to this spiritual enlistment; now is the time to lift my voice and say to each of you here present, changing slightly the words of the prophet, "You who are the new soldiers of Christ, forget all the past, forget your wicked ways. Hear and incline your ears and receive this, the best of admonitions." David said: *Hearken, O daughter, and see, and incline thy ear, and forget thy people and thy father's house.*¹⁰

9. You see that today we give to your loving assembly the same exhortation which the prophet gave to the whole world. For in saying *Forget your people*, he meant idolatry, error,

and the worship of demons; *and thy father's house*, that is, forget your former behavior, which led you into this shame. Forget all those things and cast from your minds anything which is calculated to bring back the past. For if you will only do this, if you will keep aloof from your people and your father's house, that is, from the old corruption and the evil in which you were consumed and in which you wasted the bloom of your soul together with that of your body, *the king will greatly desire your beauty*.

10. You see, beloved, that my discourse concerns the soul.¹¹ For a physical ugliness of the body could never change into beauty; the Master has prescribed that nature be subject neither to motion nor change. But in the case of the soul, such change is easy and very simple. Why is this and how is it possible? With the soul, it is entirely a matter of free choice rather than of a nature subject to necessity.¹² Therefore, if a deformed and extremely ugly soul has suddenly willed to do so, it can change itself, it can ascend to the summit of beauty and again become comely and graceful; if it again grows careless, it can again be swept down into the utmost ugliness. *The king, therefore, shall greatly desire thy beauty*, if you will forget the past, *your people*, as the prophet says, *and your father's house*.¹³

MARRIAGE IS A GREAT MYSTERY

11. Did you see the goodness of the Master? It was not then in vain nor without reason that, at the beginning of my discourse, I called what takes place here a spiritual marriage. For in the case of that marriage which can be seen by bodily eyes, it is altogether impossible that the bride be united to a husband, unless she has forgotten her parents and those who reared her, and unless she has given over her will, whole and

entire, to him who will be joined to her as her bridegroom.¹⁴ Hence, the blessed Paul, in treating of marriage, called it a mystery. For after he had said: *For this reason a man shall leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and the two shall become one flesh*, he pondered on the strength of this bond, and cried out in amazement: *This is a great mystery!*¹⁵

12. Yes, for it is truly great. What human reckoning will be able to grasp the nature of what takes place in marriage when one considers that the young wife, who has been nourished with her mother's milk, and kept at home, and judged worthy of such careful upbringing, suddenly, in a single moment, when she comes to the hour of marriage, forgets her mother's labor pains and all her other care, forgets her family life, the bonds of love, and, in a word, forgets everything, and gives over her whole will to that man whom she never saw before that night?¹⁶ Her life is so completely changed that thereafter that man is everything to her; she holds him to be her father, her mother, her husband, and every relative one could mention. No longer does she remember those who took care of her for so many years. So intimate is the union of these two that thereafter they are not two but one.

13. Adam, the first-formed man, with prophetic eyes foresaw this very thing and said: *She shall be called woman, because she was taken out of her man. Wherefore, a man shall leave his father and mother and shall cleave to his wife, and they shall be two in one flesh.*¹⁷ The same thing could be said of the husband, because he too has forgotten his parents and his father's house to unite himself and cleave to the wife who on that night is joined to him. Furthermore, to point out the closeness of this union, the Holy Scripture did not say: *He shall be united to a wife*, but: *He shall cleave*

to his wife. Nor was Holy Writ content with that, but added: *And they shall be two in one flesh.*¹⁸ For this reason Christ too brought forward this testimony and said: *Therefore, now they are no longer two, but one flesh.*¹⁹ So intimate is this union and adherence that the two of them are one flesh. Tell me, what reckoning will be able to discover this, what power of reason will be able to understand what takes place? Was not that blessed teacher of the whole world correct in saying that it is a mystery? And he did not simply say *a mystery*, but: *This is a great mystery.*²⁰

14. If, then, in the world of sensible realities it is a mystery, and a great mystery, what could one properly say of this spiritual marriage? Since everything here belongs to the spiritual order, note carefully now that things are here done in a way quite contrary to the order of sense. In the marriage seen by bodily eyes, no man would allow himself to take any woman as his wife without first taking pains to learn not only of her beauty and her bodily charm, but also, and of greater importance than these, her wealth.

15. In the spiritual marriage there is nothing like this. Why? Because this ritual belongs to the spiritual order. Moved by His kindness, our Bridegroom hurries to save our souls. Even if some one is ugly, or ill-favored to the eye, or poor as poor can be, or lowborn, or a slave, or an outcast, or maimed, or burdened with the weight of his sins, the Bridegroom does not split hairs, nor is He inquisitive, nor does He demand an accounting. The gifts He gives are a master's munificence and grace. He asks one thing only from us: to forget the past and to show good will for the future.

THE CONTRACT AND GIFTS OF THE SPIRITUAL MARRIAGE

16. Did you see how bountiful is His grace? Did you

see the kind of bridegroom to whom those who heed His call are espoused? But let us also see, if you wish, the consequences of this spiritual marriage. Just as for a marriage in the sensible order a document covering the dowry is executed and gifts are given, the man bringing the gifts and the prospective bride the dowry contract, so in the spiritual marriage it is natural that something of that sort must take place. For the understanding must be led from things of the body to those which belong to the spirit, to things which come closer to God.²¹ What, then, is the dowry contract in this marriage? Nothing but the obedience and the agreement which will be made with the Bridegroom.²² And what are the gifts which the Bridegroom brings before the marriage? Hear the blessed Paul. He shows us when he says: *Husbands, love your wives, just as Christ also loved the Church and delivered Himself up for her, that He might sanctify her, cleansing her in the bath of water by means of the word, in order that He might present to Himself the Church in all her glory, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing.*²³

17. Did you see the magnitude of His gifts? Did you see the ineffable bounty of His love? *Just as Christ also loved the Church and delivered Himself up for her.*²⁴ No man would ever have allowed himself to do this, namely, to pour out his blood for the woman who was going to be his bride. But the kindly Master, imitating His own goodness,²⁵ has accepted this great and marvelous sacrifice because of His solicitude for her, that by His own blood He might sanctify her; that, having cleansed her by the bath of baptism, He might present her to Himself a Church in all her glory. To this end He poured forth His blood and endured the cross, that through this He might freely give sanctification to us too, and might cleanse us through the bath of regeneration, and might present to Himself those who before were in dishonor

and unable to speak with confidence, but now are glorious, without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing.

18. You see how in saying: *That He might cleanse and present to Himself the Church in all her glory, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing,*²⁶ He teaches us that, before this, the Church was in an unclean condition. Consider all these things, then, you new soldiers of Christ, and look not upon the enormity of your own evils, nor take account of the excessiveness of your sins; rather should you ponder these words carefully and waver not the way you do. You know well the Master's munificence, the bounty of His grace, the grandeur of His gift. Let all of you who have here been esteemed worthy of being admitted to citizenship show an abundance of good will and come forward! Put away from you all you have done up to now, and prove with your whole heart that you are through with the past.

BELIEVE IN THE FATHER, THE SON, AND THE HOLY SPIRIT

19. Then you know well the kind of persons you are and in what plight the Master finds you when He allows you to approach Him; neither does He search out your sins nor does He exact justice for your blunders. Therefore, do you contribute your fair share,²⁷ and make a strong confession of faith in Him, not only with your lips but also with your understanding. *For with the heart, He says, a man believes unto justice; and with the mouth, profession of faith is made unto salvation.*²⁸ For the understanding must be strongly fixed in pious faith, and the tongue must herald forth by its confession the solid resolution of the mind.

20. Faith, then, is the foundation of piety. Let me speak to you briefly of this faith, so that we may lay an indestructible foundation. Then we may build the whole building with

safety. It is fitting, therefore, that those who have enlisted in this special army of the spirit believe in the God of the universe, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the cause of all things, the inexpressible, the incomprehensible, who can be explained neither by word nor understanding, who has by His kindness and goodness created all things.²⁹

21. And in Jesus Christ, His only-begotten Son, our Lord, who is in all ways like and equal to the Father with a likeness to Him which is unchangeable; consubstantial with the Father but known in His own Person; proceeding from the Father in a manner that cannot be expressed; who was before time began and is Creator of all ages; who in later times, for our salvation, took the form of a slave and became man, dwelt with human nature, was crucified, and rose again on the third day.³⁰

22. You must have these articles of faith accurately fixed in your minds, that you may not be easily overwhelmed by the deceits of the devil. But if the Arians wish to trip you up, you should know for sure that you must block up your ears to what they say. Answer them with confidence, and show them that the Son is like in substance to the Father. For it is the Son Himself who said: *As the Father raises up the dead and gives them life, even so the Son also gives life to whom He will,*³¹ and in all things He shows that He has equal power with the Father. And if, from the other side, Sabellius desires to destroy sound doctrines by glossing over the distinction of Persons, my beloved, wall up your ears against him too, and teach him that the substance of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is one, but that there are three Persons. For neither could the Father be called Son, nor the Son Father, nor could the Holy Spirit be called anything other than that. Each remains in His own Person, but each possesses equal power.³²

23. You must also keep this truth firmly fixed in your minds, that the Holy Spirit is of the same dignity as the Father and the Son. Christ said to His disciples: *Go, therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.*³³

24. Did you see the exactness with which Christ makes profession of this truth? Did you see how unambiguous His instruction is? Let no one hereafter disturb your mind by bringing the searchings of his own reason into the Church's dogmas as he tries to confuse beliefs that are correct and sound.³⁴ Avoid the companionship of such people as you would avoid drugs which could destroy you. For these people are more dangerous than poisonous drugs. The drugs do harm only to the body; these people destroy the very salvation of the soul. That is why it is fitting from the very beginning to avoid such discussions with these people, especially until you will be able, with the passage of time, to curb their impudent tongues, after you have fortified yourself well with the weapons of the spirit, the testimony of Holy Writ.

EMBRACE THE YOKE OF CHRIST

25. Such is the strictness we wish you to show in regard to the dogmas of the Church, and we desire you to keep them fast fixed in your minds. It is also fitting that those who manifest such faith shine forth by their good conduct. Hence, I must also instruct in this matter those who are about to deserve the royal gift, so that you may be able to know that there is no sin so great that it can conquer the munificence of the Master. Even if one is a fornicator, or an adulterer, or effeminate, or unnatural in his lust, or has consorted with prostitutes, or is a thief, or has defrauded others, or is a drunkard, or an idolater, the power of the gift

and the love of the Master are great enough to make all these sins disappear and to make the sinner shine more brightly than the rays of the sun, if he will only give evidence of good resolution.³⁶

26. Consider, then, the exceeding greatness of this gift of a kindly God, and make yourselves ready beforehand to abstain from evil deeds and to do good. The prophet urges us to do this when he says: *Decline from evil and do good.*³⁶ And Christ Himself, addressing the whole human race, said: *Come to me, all you who labor and are burdened, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you and learn from me, for I am meek and humble of heart, and you will find rest for your souls.*³⁷

27. Did you see the abundance of His goodness? Did you see the munificence of His invitation? *Come to me*, He says, *all you who labor and are burdened.* His invitation is one of kindness, His goodness is beyond description. *Come to me all*, not only rulers but also their subjects, not only the rich but also the poor, not only the free but also slaves, not only men but women, not only the young but also the old, not only those of sound body but also the maimed and those with mutilated limbs, all of you, He says, come! For such are the Master's gifts; He knows no distinction of slave and free, nor of rich and poor, but all such inequality is cast aside. *Come*, He says, *all you who labor and are burdened.*³⁸

28. And see whom He calls! Those who have spent their strength in breaking the law, those who are burdened with their sins, those who can no longer lift up their heads, those who are filled with shame, those who can no longer speak out. And why does He call them? Not to demand an accounting, nor to hold court. But why? To relieve them of their pain, to take away their heavy burden. For what could ever be a heavier burden than sin?³⁹ Even if we blind

our eyes a thousand times to it, if we try to hide it from the eyes of the world, this weight of sin rouses against us our conscience, that judge which cannot be bribed. In its role of judge, conscience rises up against us and never ceases to inflict on us unceasing pain, like a public executioner who mangles and strangles us in our minds, and thus shows us the enormity of sin.⁴⁰ I shall refresh you who are weighted down by sin, He says, and you who are bent down as if under a burden; I shall grant you remission of your sins. Only come to me! Who is so hard of heart and unyielding that he will turn a deaf ear to so kindly a call?

29. Then, to teach us how He will give us rest, He added: *Take my yoke upon you*. Come under my yoke, He says. But do not be afraid when you hear the word "yoke"; for neither does it rub the neck nor make you bend your head, but this yoke teaches you to think lofty thoughts and instructs you in the true pursuit of wisdom. *Take my yoke upon you and learn*. Only come under my yoke and you will learn. Learn, that is, lend an ear that you may be able to learn from me. I seek nothing very burdensome from you. You, the slaves, imitate me, the Master; do you, who are earth and ashes, emulate me who created heaven and earth and made you. *Learn from me*, He says, *for I am meek and humble of heart*.⁴¹

PORTRAIT OF THE MAN MEEK AND HUMBLE OF HEART

30. Did you see how the Master comes down to us? Did you see His infinite kindness? He made no burdensome or oppressive demands on us. Nor did he say: *Learn from me, because I have worked miracles, because I have raised the dead, because I have shown forth wondrous deeds*, things which belong to His power alone. But what did He say?

Learn from me, for I am meek and humble of heart, and you will find rest for your souls. Do you see what a boon and advantage this yoke is? Therefore, he who has deserved to come under this yoke, he who has been able to learn from the Master to be meek and humble of heart, shall obtain complete rest for his soul. For this is the summary of our salvation. He who has acquired this virtue, although still entangled in the flesh, will be able to vie with immaterial powers and to be free from any connection with his present life. ✓

31. For he who imitates the Master's meekness will not lose his temper nor be roused against his neighbor. Even if someone shall strike him, he will say: *If I have spoken ill, bear witness to the evil; but if well, why dost thou strike me?*⁴² If anyone call out and say that he is possessed by an evil spirit, he answers: *I have not a devil,*⁴³ and none of the charges brought forward against him will be able to hurt him. Such a man will scorn all the glory of the present life; nothing of the visible world will win him over to itself, for from now on he will see things through different eyes. The man who is humble of heart will never be able to envy his neighbor's possessions. He will not steal, nor will he commit fraud; he will not yearn for wealth, but, while showing great compassion for his kindred, he will even forsake the wealth which he does have. Such a man will not undermine another's marriage.⁴⁴ Since he has come under the yoke of Christ and has learned to be meek and humble of heart, he will follow in the steps of the Master and manifest every virtue in every way.

32. Let us, therefore, come under the yoke which is good and lift up the burden which is light, that we too may be able to find rest. He who has come under this yoke ought to forget his old way of life and keep a close watch over his eyes. For the Master says: *Anyone who even looks with lust at a*

woman has already committed adultery with her in his heart.⁴⁵ So we must put a guard on our eyes, that death may not enter through them. We must keep a sharp watch not only over our eyes, but on our tongue as well. For it is written: *Many have fallen by the edge of the sword, but not so many as have fallen by the tongue.*⁴⁶ As the other passions come to birth, we must curb them and make our minds tranquil; we must banish anger, passion, grudges, enmity, malice, evil desires, all licentiousness, all the works of the flesh, which, according to St. Paul, are adultery, fornication, uncleanness, licentiousness, idolatry, witchcrafts, enmities, contentions, jealousies, drunkenness, and carousings.⁴⁷

33. It is fitting, therefore, to force out of our souls all these vices and to be eager to acquire the fruit of the Spirit: charity, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, modesty, and continence.⁴⁸ If we shall thus purify our minds by constantly chanting the lessons of piety,⁴⁹ we shall henceforth be able, by preparing ourselves beforehand, to make ourselves worthy to receive His gift, great as it is, and to guard the good things which are given.

THE TRUE ADORNMENT OF WOMAN

34. Hereafter let there be no concern for external embellishments and expensive clothes, but let all your zeal be directed to making your souls comely, that they may shine forth with a brighter beauty. Pay no attention to garments made from the silkworm's threads,⁵⁰ nor to necklaces of gold. For the teacher of the whole world, who knew full well the weakness of women's nature and the unsteadiness of their wills, did not hesitate to issue orders on these matters. Why do I say that he did not refuse to instruct you about these matters? While giving counsel to you women on your adorn-

ment, did he not cry out: *Not with braided hair or gold or pearls or expensive clothing?*⁵¹ Is not this all but an instruction concerning your desire to adorn yourselves and to win praise from those who behold you? I shall call not only on your fellow human beings but on the Master of all things to praise and honor you.

35. Since Paul has spurned the adornment for women which depends on braided hair and gold ornaments and pearls and expensive clothing, let us see now with what raiment he does adorn them. For even if the golden ornaments and clothes with which a woman adorns herself bring a brief delight to her who wears them, are they not worn out after a while? Why do I say they are worn out? Even before time wears them out they excite the eyes of the envious and turn the hands of villains to theft. But the raiment with which Paul adorns women can neither be stolen nor does it wear out; it lasts forever, abiding with us here, going along with us hereafter; it provides us with confidence in abundance.

36. We must, however, hear the exact words of the Apostle. What, then, does he say? *But with good works such as become women professing godliness.*⁵² Do deeds worthy of your profession, he says, and adorn yourself with good deeds. Let the good deeds you do imitate your profession; you profess godliness, so do what is pleasing to Him, that is, good deeds. What is this phrase "with good deeds"? He means the whole collection of virtues: scorn of this world, yearning for the world to come, disdain for riches, generosity to the poor, modesty, meekness, pursuit of wisdom, disposing our souls in peace and serenity, not cringing before the glory of the present life, but keeping our gaze ever straining upward, so that we are ever anxious for the things of heaven and desire the glory hereafter.⁵³

37. Since I am now speaking especially to the women, I

wish to make certain other recommendations to them. I wish you women to abstain not only from other hurtful practices, but also from the habit of painting your faces and adding to them, as if the workmanship were defective. By doing so you insult the Workman. For what are you trying to do, woman? By using rouge⁵⁴ and eye shadow you cannot add to your natural beauty nor change your natural ugliness, can you? These add nothing to your beauty of face, but they will destroy the beauty of your soul. For this meddling with nature testifies to your interior weakness. Especially are you heaping up abundant fire for yourself by exciting the looks of young men, and attracting to yourself the eyes of the undisciplined; by making complete adulterers of them, you are bringing their downfall onto your own head.

38. It is fitting and helpful to abstain from this practice entirely. But if those women who are caught in the grip of this evil habit should be unwilling to give up the use of cosmetics, at least let them not use them when they are coming to the house of prayer.⁵⁵ Why, tell me, when you come to church, do you adorn yourself in this way? You have come to worship God and to make confession to Him in atonement for your sins.⁵⁶ Does He look for this beauty? No. He seeks the beauty from within, He looks for the activity which expresses itself in good deeds, He desires almsgiving, temperance, compunction, and strict faith. But you have forsaken these virtues; you are trying to trip up many of the careless ones, even in church. By what thunderbolts do such actions deserve to be punished? You arrive in port and you cause your own shipwreck.⁵⁷ You come to the physician to have your wounds cured, and you go away after making them worse. What pardon will there be for you hereafter? If some women were in the past so careless of their own salvation, now at least let them be persuaded to rid themselves of

this outrageous practice. If the Apostle forbade the use of expensive clothing, much more would he forbid the use of cosmetics and eye shadow.

AGAINST OMENS, OATHS, SPECTACLES

39. Next, I exhort both men and women to shun altogether omens and superstitions.⁵⁸ These are foolish practices of the Greeks and of those who are still in the grip of error, this meddling of yours with the cawing of crows, the squeaking of mice, the creaking of beams; your joy on encountering those who are living disgraceful lives, while you avoid meeting with pious and devout persons, as if they were the cause of countless evils. See how many are the devices of the devil! He not only wishes us to be destitute of virtue and inclined to vice, but he also tries to instil in us such a hatred for virtue that we turn away from those who are seeking it. And again, he not only desires us to pursue wickedness but he is eager and anxious to adapt us to it by making us take pleasure in encountering it.

40. Do not think that these matters are insignificant and trifling. They can make your soul founder and go down to the very abyss of evil. This is the wicked demon's plan, to trip you up by little things. But henceforth do you, the new soldiers of Christ, both men and women—for the army of Christ knows no distinction of sex—cut off every habit of this sort, because you are going to receive the King of the universe. Cleanse your minds so thoroughly that no uncleanness darkens your thoughts.

41. If someone has an enemy, let him be reconciled; let him consider the great good he is going to receive from the Master, even though he is overwhelmed in the sea of so many sins; let him forgive his neighbor's offenses against him.

Holy Writ says: *And let none of you imagine evil in your hearts against his neighbor.*⁵⁹ If, therefore, someone is holding bonds with accumulated interest, let him tear them up; for it is written: *Tear up every unjust contract.*⁶⁰ To put it simply, let him take the lead in showing his own generosity, that he may receive generosity from the Master in great abundance.

42. Above all, teach your tongues to keep clean in the matter of oaths. I do not mean only such oaths as are falsely sworn, but also those taken rashly and in vain, which also hurt those who swear them. *It was said*, the Master tells us, *Thou shalt not swear falsely. . . . But I say to you not to swear at all.*⁶¹ You heard the Master say not to swear at all; henceforth refrain from meddling with things which the Master has ordained, but heed Him who has enjoined it and cleanse your minds completely.

43. Let there be no more talk about the hippodrome and the lawless spectacles of the theatre, for they provide the fuel for licentiousness; let there be no talk of the cruel pleasure derived from the combats between wild beasts and men. For what pleasure is there in watching a fellow human, who shares in the same nature as yourself, being mangled by savage beasts?⁶² Are you not afraid, do you not shudder, for fear that a thunderbolt might fall from on high and set your head ablaze?⁶³ For it is you, one might say, who sharpen the teeth of the beast. You, by your shouts, have a personal part in the murder, if not by your hand, at least by your tongue.

DO HONOR TO THE NAME OF CHRISTIAN

44. I beg you, do not be careless in pondering on your own salvation. Consider your deserts and blush. When a man reverences human dignity, he repeatedly refuses to do

anything which would inflict outrage on this dignity. Should you not see to it that you deserve such reverence, inasmuch as you are about to acquire so great a dignity? And this is a great dignity. It coextends with the present life and the life you will live together hereafter. What is this dignity? Henceforth, through the kindness of God, you will be called a Christian and one of the faithful.⁶⁴ There is not one dignity here, but two. Soon you will put on Christ. You must act and deliberate in all things with the knowledge that He is everywhere with you.

45. Those who administer the affairs of state are clad in robes bearing the imperial images. They are proud of the garb they wear and, because of it, they wish to be deemed all the more deserving of honor. Because of it, they enjoy the benefit of an armed guard.⁶⁵ If those men, then, wish to be held in reverence because they have the imperial image on their robes, how much more should this be the case with you, who are about to put on Christ Himself! *I shall dwell among you*, says Holy Writ. *And I will walk among you and will be your God.*⁶⁶

46. Avoid, then, all these wicked snares of the devil and hold nothing in greater honor than your entrance into the Church. Let us have great zeal for virtue along with our abstinence from food and our abstinence from evil. Let us spend the whole day long in prayers and confessions, in reading and compunction; let all our zeal be so directed that our discourse be of spiritual things. We must be very careful not to be caught in the traps of the wicked one.⁶⁷ For if justice is demanded of us for an idle word, how much more will this be so for ill-timed nonsense and worldly conversation?

47. If, therefore, you show this concern and care for the health of your souls, you will win God to a greater kindness,

and you will enjoy greater confidence. We shall be very eager to give you your next instructions, knowing that the words we speak are falling onto well-disposed ears, and that we are sowing these seeds on rich and fertile soil.⁶⁸ May it come to pass that you merit in abundance the gift of God, and that we obtain from Him His love, by the grace and mercy of His only-begotten Son, with whom be to the Father and Holy Spirit glory, power, and honor, now and forever, world without end. Amen.

THE SECOND INSTRUCTION

A Continuation to Those Who Are About to Be Baptized and a Clear Explanation of What Is Accomplished in a Symbolic and Figurative Fashion in Holy Baptism¹

1. Again² let me address a few words to those who have enlisted in Christ's special army;³ let me show them the power of the weapons they are about to receive and the ineffable goodness which a kindly God displays for the race of men, so that they may come forward with great faith and full assurance and enjoy the honor He bestows in greater abundance. From the very outset, beloved, consider how great is the goodness God has shown to us. In His judgment, even those who have never suffered and who have given no evidence of any excellence deserve this great gift, and He forgives the sins they have committed during their whole past. In view of the great honor He bestows, you should dispose your hearts well and be willing to contribute your fair share. If you do so, how generous a recompense do you think the loving God will deem that you deserve?⁴

2. No one has ever seen the like of this in human dealings. In fact, many a man has many a time submitted to many troubles and miseries in the hope of a reward, but he has come home with empty hands.⁵ Why? Either the men from whom he expected a reward turned out to be ungrateful to him despite his many toils, or death, like as not, snatched him from our midst before his time and, hence, he failed to satisfy his aim. But in the service of our Master we can suspect no such failure. Even before we have begun to suffer or to prove our worth, He anticipates our response and

shows us the honor He bestows.⁶ Thus, His many favors move us to look to our own salvation.

GOD'S ACTION WITH REGARD TO THE FIRST MAN

3. In this way, then, did God from the very beginning constantly show kindness to the human race.⁷ For as soon as He created the first man, He straightway and from the first settled him in Paradise, granted him that gift of a carefree life, and offered him the enjoyment of everything in Paradise except one tree. Because he wished to indulge his taste,⁸ and because his wife misled him, he trampled underfoot the command which God had imposed on him and committed an outrage against the great honor which God had bestowed upon him.

4. But see even here the magnitude of God's kindness. For God no longer had to judge worthy of any forgiveness one who had proved so ungrateful for unearned benefactions, but He should have put him beyond the pale of His providence. But He did not do so. Not only that but, like a loving father who is moved by his natural affection for his unruly child, He does not measure His rebuke to the sin nor, again, does He forgive him altogether, but He punishes him with moderation, so that the child, like a ship, may not thereafter run aground on a reef of greater evil. That is the way in which God works. Since man had shown great disobedience, God cast him forth from his life in Paradise. God curbed man's spirit for the future, so that he might not leap any farther away,⁹ and He condemned him to a life of toil and labor, speaking to him in some such fashion as this:

5. "The ease¹⁰ and security which were yours in abundance have led you to this great disobedience. They made you forget my commandments. You had nothing to do; that led

you to think thoughts too haughty for your own nature, *for idleness hath taught all evil.*¹¹ Therefore, I condemn you to toil and labor, so that while tilling the earth, you may never forget your disobedience and the vileness of your nature. Since you exalted yourself to great heights and refused to remain within your proper bounds, on this account do I command you to return again to the dust from which you were taken, *for dust thou art, and into dust thou shalt return.*¹²

6. To increase man's pain and to make him feel his fall to the full, God did not settle man at any great distance from Paradise, but nearby.¹³ However, He blocked off the entrance to it, so that man might see each hour the joys of which he had deprived himself by his failure to obey; thus might man profit from this constant admonition and in the future be more careful to keep the commandments God had given to him. When we enjoy blessings without perceiving the manner of the benefaction as we should, and then are deprived of them, we get a fuller perception of these blessings, and we also endure a greater pain of loss. This is what happened in the case of the first man.

7. But that you may know both the plot of the wicked demon and the wise provisions of our Master, consider what the devil tried to make of man by his deceit and what kindness our Master and Protector showed for him. For that wicked one, the devil, envied man his life in Paradise and, by the prospect of a greater promise, he drove him forth from the blessings which were in his hands. For by making man picture himself as equal to God,¹⁴ he drove him to the punishment of death. Such are his wiles that he not only drives us away from the blessings we have, but he also tries to drive us onto a more precipitous cliff. But God in His love did not fail to regard mankind. He showed the devil how foolish were his attempts; He showed man the great care He mani-

fested in his regard, for through death He gave man everlasting life. The devil drove man from Paradise; God led him to heaven. The profit is greater than the loss.¹⁵

8. But as I said in the beginning—and it was on this account that I was induced to talk about these matters—God judged worthy of His own great kindness a man who turned out to be ungrateful for these great benefactions. If you, the soldiers of Christ, will show your eagerness to be grateful for these ineffable gifts which are coming to you, if you will be alert to guard those which have already come, what great munificence will you win from Him for having guarded His gifts well? For it is the Master who said: *To everyone who has shall be given, and he shall have abundance.*¹⁶ For the man who proves himself worthy of the gifts already received, would deserve to enjoy greater gifts.

SEE WITH THE EYES OF FAITH

9. All of you, then, who have deserved to be enrolled in this heavenly book,¹⁷ bring forward a generous faith and a strong reason. What takes place here requires faith and the eyes of the soul, so that you pay heed not only to what is seen, but that you make the unseen visible from the seen.¹⁸ This is what the eyes of faith can do. The eyes of the body can see only those things which come under their perception, but the eyes of faith are quite the opposite. For they see nothing of visible things, but the invisible things they see as if they were lying before their eyes. This is faith: to see the invisible as if it were visible. St. Paul says: *Now faith is the substance of things to be hoped for, the evidence of things that are not seen.*¹⁹

10. What is this I am saying and why did I say to pay no heed to visible things, but to have the eyes of the spirit?²⁰ I

say it in order that when you see the bath of water and the hand of the priest touching your head, you may not think that this is merely water, nor that only the hand of the bishop lies upon your head.²¹ For it is not a man who does what is done, but it is the grace of the Spirit which sanctifies the nature of the water²² and touches your head together with the hand of the priest. Was I not right in saying that we need the eyes of faith? With these we believe in the invisible; with these we take no notice of what can be seen.

11. Baptism is a burial and a resurrection.²³ For the old man is buried with his sin and the new man is resurrected, *being renewed according to the image of his Creator.*²⁴ We put off the old garment, which has been made filthy with the abundance of our sins; we put on the new one, which is free from every stain. What am I saying? We put on Christ Himself. *For all you, says St. Paul, who have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ.*²⁵

PURPOSE AND SYMBOLISM OF THE EXORCISMS

12. Now you stand at the threshold; soon you will enjoy the benefit of so many gifts. Let me instruct you, then, as far as I can, in the reasons for each of the present rites, that you may know them well and depart from here with a more certain understanding of them.²⁶ You must understand why, after this daily instruction, we send you along to hear the words of the exorcists.²⁷ For this rite does not take place without aim or purpose; you are going to receive the King of heaven to dwell within you. This is why, after we have admonished you, those appointed²⁸ to this task take you and, as if they were preparing a house for a royal visit, they cleanse your minds by those awesome words,²⁹ putting to flight every device of the wicked one and making your hearts worthy of

the royal presence. For even if the demon be fierce and cruel, he must withdraw from your hearts with all speed after this awesome formula and the invocation of the common Master of all things. Along with this, the rite itself impresses great piety on the soul and leads it to abundant compunction.

13. It is certainly marvelous and contrary to expectation, but this rite does away with all difference and distinction of rank. Even if a man happens to enjoy worldly honor, if he happens to glitter with wealth, if he boasts of high lineage or the glory which is his in this world, he stands side by side with the beggar and with him who is clothed in rags, and many a time with the blind and the lame. Nor is he disgusted by this, because he knows that all these differences find no place in the world of the spirit, where one looks only for a soul that is well disposed.³⁰

14. See what profit those words and those awesome and wonderful invocations bring with them! But the show of bare feet and the outstretched hands point out something else to us.³¹ Those who endure captivity of the body show by their posture their dejection at the disaster which has overcome them. So, too, when the devil's captives are about to be set free from his domination and to come under the yoke of goodness,³² they first remind themselves of their prior condition by their external attitude. They do this that they may be able to know from what evil they are being delivered and to what good they are hurrying, and that this very knowledge may be the foundation for greater gratitude and may make their souls even more than well disposed.

ADDRESS TO THE SPONSORS³³

15. Do you wish me to address a word to those who are sponsoring you,³⁴ that they too may know what recompense

they deserve if they have shown great care for you, and what condemnation follows if they are careless? Consider, beloved, how those who go surety for someone in a matter of money set up for themselves a greater risk than the one who borrows the money and is liable for it. If the borrower be well disposed, he lightens the burden for his surety; if the dispositions of his soul be ill, he makes the risk a steeper one. Wherefore, the wise man counsels us, saying: *If thou be surety, think as if thou wert to pay it.*³⁵ If, then, those who go surety for others in a matter of money make themselves liable for the whole sum, those who go surety for others in matters of the spirit and on an account which involves virtue should be much more alert. They ought to show their paternal love by encouraging, counseling, and correcting those for whom they go surety.

16. Let them not think that what takes place is a trifling thing, but let them see clearly that they share in the credit if by their admonition they lead those entrusted to them to the path of virtue. Again, if those they sponsor become careless, the sponsors themselves will suffer great punishment. That is why it is customary to call the sponsors "spiritual fathers," that they may learn by this very action how great an affection they must show to those they sponsor in the matter of spiritual instruction. If it is a noble thing to lead to a zeal for virtue those who are in no way related to us, much more should we fulfil this precept in the case of the one whom we receive as a spiritual son.³⁶ You, the sponsors, have learned that no slight danger hangs over your heads if you are remiss.

THE RENOUNCEMENT OF SATAN AND ADHERENCE TO CHRIST³⁷

17. Now let me speak to you of the mysteries themselves³⁸

and of the contract which will be made between yourselves and the Master. In worldly affairs, whenever someone wishes to entrust his business to anyone, a written contract must be completed between the trustee and his client. The same thing holds true now, when the Master is going to entrust to you not mortal things which are subject to destruction and death, but spiritual things which belong to eternity. Wherefore, this contract is also called faith,³⁹ since it possesses nothing visible but all things which can be seen by the eyes of the spirit. There must be an agreement between the contracting parties. However, it is not on paper nor written in ink; it is in God and written by the Spirit. The words which you utter here are registered in heaven, and the agreement you make by your tongue abides indelibly with the Master.

18. See here again the external attitude of captivity. The priests bring you in. First they bid you to pray on bent knees, with your hands outstretched to heaven, and to remind yourselves by your posture from what evil you are delivered and to what good you will dedicate yourselves.⁴⁰ Then the priest⁴¹ comes to you one by one,⁴² asks for your contract and confession, and prepares you to utter those awesome and frightening words: "I renounce thee, Satan."

19. Now tears and bitter groans assail me.⁴³ For I thought of the day on which I too was judged worthy to speak those words. When I consider the burden of sins I have accumulated from that day to this, my mind is confounded; my reason is cut to the quick when I see what shame I have poured on myself by my subsequent negligence. Wherefore, I beg all of you to show some generosity to me, especially since you are about to meet the King. He will receive you with great eagerness; He will put upon you that royal robe; He will give you gifts, as many as you wish and of whatever kind you wish, but only if we ask for spiritual things. Ask

for a grace in my behalf, that He may not demand from me an accounting for my sins, but granting me pardon, He may hereafter judge me worthy of His favor. I do not doubt that you will do this, because you show a deep affection for those who teach you.

20. Now let us get back to the sequence of our discourse. Then the priest has you say: "I renounce thee,"⁴⁴ Satan, thy pomps,⁴⁵ thy service, and thy works." The words are few but their power is great. The angels who are standing by and the invisible powers rejoice at your conversion, receive the words from your tongues, and carry them up to the common Master of all things. There they are inscribed in the books of heaven.⁴⁶

21. Did you see what the terms of the agreement are? After the renunciation of the wicked one and of all things which are important to him, the priest again has you say: "And I enter into thy service, O Christ."⁴⁷ Did you see His boundless goodness? Receiving only these words from you, He entrusts to you such a store of treasures! He has forgotten all your former ingratitude, He reminds you of none of your past deeds, but He is content with these few words.

ANOINTING OF THE CATECHUMENS AND THEIR BAPTISM

22. After that contract of renunciation and attachment, after you have confessed His sovereignty⁴⁸ and by the words you spoke have attached yourself to Christ, in the next place, as if you were a combatant chosen for the spiritual arena, the priest anoints⁴⁹ you on the forehead with the oil of the spirit and signs you [with the sign of the cross], saying: "So-and-so is anointed in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit."⁵⁰

23. The priest knows that henceforth the enemy is

furious, grinds his teeth, and goes about like a roaring lion when he sees those who were formerly subject to his sovereignty in sudden rebellion against him, not only renouncing him, but going over to the side of Christ. Therefore, the priest anoints you on the forehead and puts on you the sign [of the cross], in order that the enemy may turn away his eyes. For he does not dare to look you in the face when he sees the lightning flash which leaps forth from it and blinds his eyes. Henceforth from that day there is strife and counterstrife with him, and on this account the priest leads you into the spiritual arena as athletes of Christ by virtue of this anointing.

24. Next after this, in the full darkness of the night,⁵¹ he strips off your robe⁵² and, as if he were going to lead you into heaven itself by the ritual, he causes your whole body to be anointed⁵³ with that olive oil of the spirit, so that all your limbs may be fortified and unconquered by the darts which the adversary aims at you.⁵⁴

25. After this anointing the priest makes you go down into the sacred waters, burying the old man and at the same time raising up the new, who is renewed in the image of his Creator.⁵⁵ It is at this moment that, through the words and the hand of the priest,⁵⁶ the Holy Spirit descends upon you. Instead of the man who descended into the water, a different man comes forth, one who has wiped away all the filth of his sins, who has put off the old garment of sin and has put on the royal robe.

26. That you may also learn from this that the substance of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit is one, baptism is conferred in the following manner. When the priest says: "So-and-so is baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit," he puts your head down into the water three times and three times he lifts it up again, preparing you by this mystic rite to receive the descent of the

Spirit.⁵⁷ For it is not only the priest who touches the head, but also the right hand of Christ, and this is shown by the very words of the one baptizing.⁵⁸ He does not say: "I baptize so-and-so," but: "So-and-so is baptized," showing that he is only the minister of grace and merely offers his hand because he has been ordained⁵⁹ to this end by the Spirit. The one fulfilling all things is the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, the undivided Trinity. It is faith in this Trinity which gives the grace of remission from sin; it is this confession which gives to us the gift of filial adoption.⁶⁰

27. What follows suffices to show us from what those who have been judged worthy of this mystic rite have been set free, and what they have gained.⁶¹ As soon as they come forth from those sacred waters, all who are present embrace them, greet them, kiss them,⁶² rejoice with them, and congratulate them, because those who were heretofore slaves and captives have suddenly become free men and sons and have been invited to the royal table.⁶³ For straightway after they come up from the waters, they are led to the awesome table heavy laden with countless favors, where they taste of the Master's body and blood, and become a dwelling place for the Holy Spirit. Since they have put on Christ Himself, wherever they go they are like angels on earth, rivaling the brilliance of the rays of the sun.

CLOSING ADDRESS: PETITIONS AND PRAYERS

28. It was not idly or without purpose that I anticipated the event⁶⁴ and instructed your loving assembly in all these matters, but I did so that you might be carried on by the wings of hope and enjoy the pleasure before you enjoyed the actual benefit. I did it, too, that you might adopt a purpose worthy of the rite, and as blessed Paul has exhorted, you

might *mind the things that are above*⁶⁵ and change your thoughts from earth to heaven, from visible things to those which are unseen. And we see the objects of bodily sight more clearly with the eyes of the spirit.

29. But since you stand at the threshold of the royal palace and are about to approach⁶⁶ the very throne where sits the King who apportions the gifts, show every ambition in your requests. Only ask for nothing worldly or human; make your petition worthy of Him who grants the gifts. As you come forth from the waters, symbolizing your resurrection by rising up from them, ask Him to be your ally, so that you may guard well the gifts He has given you, and that you may not be conquered by the deceits of the wicked one. Beg Him for peace among the churches, beseech Him for those who are being led astray, prostrate yourselves in behalf of those who are in sin, so that we may be judged worthy of mercy in some degree.⁶⁷ For He has granted you great confidence,⁶⁸ He has enrolled you in the front ranks of His friends, and has received into the adoption of sons you who were formerly captives and slaves with no right to speak out. He will not reject your prayers; again imitating in this His own goodness,⁶⁹ He will grant you everything you ask.

30. It is especially in this way that you draw Him to still greater benevolence. For when He sees you showing such care for your fellow members and taking such thought for the salvation of others, He will judge that on this account you deserve to speak out with great confidence. Nothing gladdens Him so much as our fellow feeling for those who are members of the same Body, our manifestation of abundant affection for our brothers, and our great preoccupation with the salvation of our neighbors.⁷⁰

31. In this knowledge, then, my beloved, make yourselves ready to receive this grace with joy and gladness of the

spirit,⁷¹ that you may enjoy the abundant benefits of this gift. May all of us together, by making our conduct worthy of the grace, deserve to receive eternal and ineffable gifts by the grace and love of our Lord Jesus Christ, with whom be to the Father and Holy Spirit glory, power, and honor, now and forever, world without end. Amen.

THE THIRD INSTRUCTION

Homily Addressed to the Neophytes¹

THE NEOPHYTES ARE COMPARED TO NEW STARS

1. Blessed be God!² Behold, there are stars here on earth too, and they shine forth more brilliantly than those of heaven!³ There are stars on earth because of Him who came from heaven and was seen on earth. Not only are these stars on earth, but—a second marvel—they are stars in the full light of day. And the daytime stars shine more brilliantly than those which shine at night. For the night stars hide themselves away before the rising sun, but when the Sun of Justice shines, these stars of day gleam forth still more brightly. Did you ever see stars which shine in the light of the sun?

2. Yes, the night stars disappear with the end of time; these daytime stars shine forth more brightly with the coming of the consummation. It was of the night stars that the Gospel says: *The stars will fall from heaven, as the leaf falleth from the vine;*⁴ and of the day stars: *The just will shine forth like the sun in the kingdom of their Father.*⁵

3. Why is it that as the leaf falls from the vine, so shall the stars fall from heaven? As long as the vine nurtures the grapes, it needs the shelter given by the leaves; when it puts aside its fruit, it also puts aside its foliage. So, too, as long as the whole universe possesses in itself the race of men, the heavens also will have their stars, just as the vine will have its leaves. When there is no more night, there will be no need for stars.

4. Fiery is the nature of the stars in the skies; fiery, too, is the substance of those on earth. But the fire in the skies can be seen with the eyes of the body, whereas this other fire is perceived by the eyes of the soul. *He will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire*, says Matthew.⁶ Do you wish to learn the names of these two kinds of stars? The stars of the firmament are called Orion, Arcturus, Evening Star, and Morning Star. Among the stars in our midst there is no evening star; all of them are stars of morning.⁷

THE MANY GRACES OF BAPTISM

5. Let us say again: *Blessed be God, who alone does wonderful things*,⁸ who does all things and transforms them. Before yesterday you were captives, but now you are free and citizens of the Church; lately you lived in the shame of your sins, but now you live in freedom and justice. You are not only free, but also holy; not only holy, but also just; not only just, but also sons; not only sons, but also heirs; not only heirs, but also brothers of Christ; not only brothers of Christ, but also joint heirs; not only joint heirs, but also members; not only members, but also the temple; not only the temple, but also instruments of the Spirit.⁹

6. *Blessed be God, who alone does wonderful things!*¹⁰ You have seen how numerous are the gifts of baptism. Although many men think that the only gift it confers is the remission of sins, we have counted its honors to the number of ten.¹¹ It is on this account that we baptize even infants, although they are sinless,¹² that they may be given the further gifts of sanctification, justice, filial adoption, and inheritance, that they may be brothers and members of Christ, and become dwelling places for the Spirit.

7. My dearly beloved brothers—if I may call you my

brothers—it is true that I share with you the same birth, but by my later negligence I destroyed the true perfection of our kinship. Nonetheless, let me call you brothers because of my great love, and let me urge you to show a great zeal to match the great honor bestowed on you.

THE COMBAT AGAINST THE DEVIL

8. Up to now you have been in a school for training and exercise; there falls were forgiven. But from today on, the arena stands open, the contest is at hand, the spectators have taken their seats.¹³ Not only are men watching the combats but the host of angels as well, as St. Paul cries out in his letter to the Corinthians: *We have been made a spectacle to the world and to angels and to men.*¹⁴ And whereas the angels are spectators, the Lord of angels presides over the contest as judge.¹⁵ This is not only an honor for us, but assures our safety. Is it not an honor and assurance for us when He who is judge of the contest is the one who laid down His life for us?

9. In the Olympic combats the judge stands impartially aloof from the combatants, favoring neither the one nor the other, but awaiting the outcome. He stands in the middle because his judgment is impartial.¹⁶ But in our combat with the devil, Christ does not stand aloof but is wholly on our side. How true it is that Christ does not stand aloof but is entirely on our side you may see from this: He anointed us as we went into the combat, but He fettered the devil; He anointed us with the oil of gladness, but He bound the devil with fetters that cannot be broken to keep him shackled hand and foot for the combat.¹⁷ But if I happen to slip, He stretches out His hand, lifts me up from my fall, and sets me on my feet again. For the Gospel says: *You tread upon*

*serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy.*¹⁸

10. After the victory the devil is threatened with Gehenna. If I win, I shall receive a crown; if he wins, he is chastised. That you may know that he suffers a greater punishment whenever he wins, I shall prove it to you from what did happen. He made Adam trip and he overwhelmed him. What was the prize for this victory? *Upon thy breast and thy belly shalt thou go, and earth shalt thou eat all the days of thy life.*¹⁹ If God punished the visible serpent so severely, with what chastisement will He punish the serpent that can be seen only with the eyes of the soul? If such a sentence was passed on the instrument used by the craftsman, clearly a punishment much more severe awaits the craftsman himself. When a loving father finds the man who murdered his son, the father not only punishes the murderer, but also destroys the very weapon which was used. So, too, when Christ finds that the devil has slain a man, not only does He punish the devil, but He also destroys the weapon itself.²⁰

11. Let us, therefore, take courage and strip ourselves for the contests.²¹ Christ has put on us armor that is more glittering than any gold, stronger than any steel, hotter and more violent than any fire, and lighter than any breath of air. The nature of this armor does not burden and bend our knees, (but it gives wings to our limbs and lifts them up. If you wish to take flight to heaven, this armor is no hindrance. It is a new kind of armor,)²² since it is a new²³ kind of combat. Although I am a man, I must aim my blows at demons; although clad in flesh, my struggle is with incorporeal powers.²⁴ On this account God has made my breastplate not from metal but from justice; He has prepared for me a shield which is made not of bronze but of faith. I have, too, a sharp sword, the word of the Spirit. The devil shoots darts at me, but I have a sword; he is an archer, but I am a heavy-armed

soldier. Learn from this his tactics:²⁵ the archer does not dare to draw near; he shoots his darts from afar.

THE POWER OF THE BLOOD OF CHRIST

12. What, then? Has God only made ready the armor? No! He has also prepared a food which is more powerful than any armor, so that you may not weary in the fight, and that you may dine joyously and then win the advantage over the wicked one. If the devil merely sees you returning from the Master's banquet, he flees faster than any wind, as if he had seen a lion breathing forth flames from his mouth.²⁶ If you show him a tongue stained with the precious blood, he will not be able to make a stand; if you show him your mouth all crimsoned and ruddy, cowardly beast that he is, he will run away.

13. Do you wish to know the power inherent in this blood?²⁷ Let us go back to what prefigured it, to the ancient stories in Egypt. God was about to bring the tenth plague on the Egyptians. He wished to destroy the first-born of the Egyptians, because the Egyptians were keeping captive His first-born people. What did He do to prevent the Jews from being struck down together with the Egyptians, since they were both in the same place? Learn the power of the type, that you may learn the strength of the truth.²⁸ The plague sent by God was about to sweep down from above, and the destroying angel was assailing one house after another.

14. What, then, did Moses do? *Sacrifice an unblemished lamb*, he said, *and smear your doors with its blood.*²⁹ What do you mean? Can the blood of an irrational animal save man who has reason? "Yes," he says. "Not because it is blood, but because it prefigures the Master's blood." Although statues of the emperor have neither life nor percep-

tion, they can save the men endowed with perception and life who flee to them for refuge,³⁰ not because they are bronze, but because they are images of the emperor. So, too, that blood which lacked life and perception saved the men who had life, not because it was blood, but because it was a type of the Master's blood.

15. On that day in Egypt, the destroying angel saw the blood smeared on the doors and did not dare to burst in. Today, will the devil not check himself all the more if he sees, not the blood of the type smeared on the doors, but the blood of the truth smeared on the mouths of the faithful, since these mouths have become doors of a temple which holds Christ? If the angel stood in awe when he saw the type, much more likely is it that the devil will flee when he sees the truth.

THE CHURCH IS FORMED FROM THE SIDE OF CHRIST

16. Do you wish to learn from another source as well the strength of this blood? Look from where it first flowed and where it had its source! It flowed down from the cross, from the Master's side. St. John says that, when Christ was dead but still on the cross, the soldier came and pierced His side with a lance, and straightway there came out water and blood.³¹ The one was a symbol of baptism, and the other of the mysteries.³² Therefore, he did not say: *There came out blood and water*, but first water came forth and then blood, since first comes baptism and then the mysteries. It was the soldier, then, who opened Christ's side and dug through the rampart of the holy temple,³³ but I am the one who has found the treasure and gotten the wealth. So it was with the lamb. The Jews sacrificed the victim, but I reaped the reward of salvation which came from their sacrifice.

17. *There came out from His side water and blood.* Beloved, do not pass this mystery by without a thought. For I have still another mystical explanation to give. I said that there was a symbol of baptism and the mysteries in that blood and water. It is from both of these that the Church is sprung *through the bath of regeneration and renewal by the Holy Spirit,*³⁴ through baptism and the mysteries. But the symbols of baptism and the mysteries come from the side of Christ. It is from His side, therefore, that Christ formed His church, just as He formed Eve from the side of Adam.³⁵

18. And so Moses, too, in his account of the first man, has Adam say: *Bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh,*³⁶ hinting to us of the Master's side. Just as at that time God took the rib of Adam and formed a woman, so Christ gave us blood and water from His side and formed the Church. Just as then He took the rib from Adam when he was in a deep sleep, so now He gave us blood and water after His death, first the water and then the blood. But what was then a deep slumber is now a death, so that you may know that this death is henceforth sleep.³⁷

19. Have you seen how Christ unites to Himself His bride? Have you seen with what food He nurtures us all? It is by the same food that we have been formed and are fed. Just as a woman nurtures her offspring with her own blood and milk, so also Christ continuously nurtures with His own blood those whom He has begotten.³⁸

20. Since we have benefited from so great a gift, let us show abundant zeal, and let us remember the contract we have made with Him.³⁹ I speak both to you, the neophytes, and to you who have long since been initiated—even many years ago. For the instruction is the same for us all, since all of us have made our agreement with Him, writing it not in ink but in the spirit, not with pen but with our tongue.⁴⁰

For the tongue is the pen with which we write our contracts with God. Wherefore David said: *My tongue is the pen of a scrivener that writeth swiftly.*⁴¹ We confessed His sovereignty; we rejected the domination of the devil. This was the signature, this the agreement, this the contract.

21. See to it that we do not again become debtors to the old contract. Christ came once; He found the certificate of our ancestral indebtedness which Adam wrote and signed. Adam contracted the debt; by our subsequent sins we increased the amount owed.⁴² In this contract are written a curse, and sin, and death, and the condemnation of the law. Christ took all these away and pardoned them.⁴³ St. Paul cries out and says: *The decree of our sins which was against us, He has taken it completely away, nailing it to the cross.*⁴⁴ He did not say "erasing the decree," nor did he say "blotting it out," but *nailing it to the cross*, so that no trace of it might remain. This is why He did not erase it, but tore it to pieces. The nails of the cross tore up the decree and destroyed it utterly, so that it would not hold good for the future.⁴⁵

22. Nor did He destroy the note of our debt in some secret corner but in full view of the world, from a lofty stage.⁴⁶ Let the angels see it, He says, let the archangels and the powers above behold; let the wicked demons and the devil himself see! It was these wicked ones who made us liable to our creditors for our debts,⁴⁷ but now the contract is destroyed, so that they may not hereafter assail us.

BAPTISM COMPARED TO THE DEPARTURE FROM EGYPT

23. Since the old contract of debt is destroyed, let us be alert to prevent any second contract.⁴⁸ For there is no second cross, nor a second remission by the bath of regeneration. There is remission, but not a second remission by baptism.⁴⁹

I exhort you, let us not become too careless. You came forth from Egypt. Never again seek Egypt nor the evils of Egypt. Never think of the mud and the brickmaking. The things of the present life are mud and brickmaking,⁵⁰ since gold itself, before it is converted into gold, is nothing more than earth.⁵¹

24. The Jews saw miracles. Now you shall see greater and much more brilliant ones than those seen when the Jews went forth from Egypt.⁵² You did not see the Pharaoh and his armies drowned, but you did see the drowning of the devil and his armies. The Jews passed through the sea; you have passed through the sea of death. They were delivered from the Egyptians; you are set free from the demon. They put aside their servitude to barbarians; you have set aside the far more hazardous servitude to sin.

25. Do you wish to know of another way in which you were judged worthy of greater marvels? In their day the Jews were unable to see the face of Moses transfigured, although he was their fellow slave and kinsman. But you have seen the face of Christ in His glory.⁵³ St. Paul cried aloud, saying: *But we all, with faces unveiled, reflect the glory of the Lord.*⁵⁴ At that time the Jews had Christ following them, but all the more does He follow us now. Then Christ followed along with them thanks to Moses; He goes along with us not only thanks to (the new) Moses but thanks to your own ready obedience.⁵⁵ For the Jews, after Egypt came the desert; for you, after your exodus will come heaven. They had Moses as their leader and excellent general; we have another Moses, God, to lead and command us.

26. What was the characteristic of Moses of old? *Moses was the meekest of all men on earth.*⁵⁶ One would not be wrong in describing this other Moses in these same terms, for certainly the meekest of spirits is with Him, being related to

Him by consubstantiality.⁵⁷ In those days Moses stretched forth his hands to heaven and brought down the bread of angels, manna. This other Moses stretches forth His hands to heaven and brings down the food of eternal life. Moses struck the rock and made streams of water flow; this other Moses touches the table, strikes the spiritual board, and makes the fountains of the Spirit gush forth. Consequently, the table, like the fountain, lies in the middle, in order that the flocks may surround the fountain on every side and enjoy the benefit of the saving waters.⁵⁸

27. Since, then, we have here such a fountain and our life here is such, since our table groans under the weight of countless blessings and spiritual gifts abound on every side, let us come forward with a sincere heart and with a clean conscience, that we may receive His grace and mercy to help us in our need, by the grace and kindness of the only-begotten Son, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, through whom and with whom be to the Father and the life-giving Spirit glory, honor, power, now and forever, world without end. Amen.⁵⁹

THE FOURTH INSTRUCTION

Addressed to the Neophytes on the Saying of the Apostle:
*If, Then, Any Man Is in Christ, He Is a New Creature: the
Former Things Have Passed Away; Behold All Things
Are Made New!*¹

THE NEOPHYTES ARE THE JOY OF THE CHURCH

1. I see that your gathering is brighter than usual today² and the Church is rejoicing over her children. A loving mother rejoices when she sees her children surrounding her; she exults and is borne along on the wings of her joy. So, too, that spiritual mother, the Church, looks on her children, rejoices, and is glad when she sees herself as a fertile field lush and green with this spiritual crop.³ Consider, my beloved, the excess of her love. See how many⁴ children this spiritual mother has brought forth suddenly and in a single night!⁵ But we must not be surprised. Spiritual child-bearing is such that it needs neither time nor a period of months.⁶

2. Let us, then, rejoice with her and share her gladness. If there is joy in heaven over one sinner who repents,⁷ much more fitting is it for us to exult and rejoice over so large a throng, and to glorify God in His kindness for this gift of His which defies description.⁸ For truly does the magnitude of God's gifts surpass all words. What understanding, what power of thought, what reason will be able to grasp the excess of God's kindness and the magnitude of the ineffable gifts which He freely bestows on the race of men?

3. Only yesterday and the day before, these were slaves

of sin, with no freedom to speak,⁹ subject to the domination of the devil; like captives, they were led to this place and that. Today they have been received into the rank of sons. They have put off their burdens of sin and put on the royal robe;¹⁰ they almost vie in brilliance with heaven itself. We see them shine more brightly than the stars, as they light up the faces of those who look upon them. For the stars shine only at night and could never be seen in the light of day. But these men shine night and day alike, because they are spiritual stars, which rival the sun itself and even far surpass it. Christ, our Master, used the image of the sun to show the luster which will mark the just in the world to come, when He said: *Then the just will shine forth like the sun.*¹¹ He compared the lot of the just to the brightness of the sun, not only because their luster is so brilliant, but because He could find no other example of a material thing which is brighter than the sun.¹²

4. Let me, then, this day embrace these our brethren who can outshine the stars and vie in brilliance with the rays of the sun. Let me not only embrace them with these bodily arms of mine, but let me show my love for them by this spiritual instruction, and let me exhort them to ponder on the excess of the Master's generosity and the luster of the garment which they have been judged worthy to wear. St. Paul says: *For all you who have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ.*¹³ So I exhort you to do your every deed and action just as if you had Christ, the Creator of all things and the Master of our nature, dwelling within you.¹⁴ And when I say Christ, I mean also the Father and the Holy Spirit. For this is what Christ Himself promised us when He said: *If anyone love me and will keep my commandments, the Father and I will come and make our abode with him.*¹⁵

5. Even if this man will continue to walk the earth, he

will have the same disposition as one who lives in heaven, because he will keep his mind and imagination on the things above and will no longer fear the plots of the wicked demon. For when the devil sees so vast a change, and sees that those who heretofore were subject to his tyranny have been exalted to such a height and judged worthy of such love by the Master, he will depart in confusion and will not dare to look them in the face. He cannot endure the brilliance which flashes forth from their faces, but His eyes are so blinded by the rays of light which their eyes send forth that he turns his back and flees.¹⁶

6. Do you, who are the new soldiers of Christ,¹⁷ who have this day been inscribed on the citizen lists of heaven, who have been invited to this spiritual banquet and are about to enjoy the benefits of the royal table,¹⁸ show a zeal which is worthy of the magnitude of His gifts, in order that you may win for yourselves even greater grace from on high.¹⁹ Our Master is kind; when He sees your gratitude for what He has already given, and that you are very careful to guard His great gifts, He bestows His grace upon you in abundance. Even if our contribution is small, He lavishes His great gifts upon us.

PAUL THE PERFECT MODEL FOR THE NEOPHYTE

7. We have as an example Paul, the teacher of the universal Church.²⁰ First he persecuted the Church, going everywhere, dragging men and women to trial, creating trouble and confusion, and raging like a madman. After he reaped the benefit of the Master's love and was enlightened by the light of the spirit, he put aside the darkness in which he had wandered and was led to the truth. He did not delay the event, but straightway he was baptized and washed of all

his former sins. And he who before had been the agent of the Jews in all things and had ravaged the Church, straightway confounded the Jews then dwelling in Damascus by proclaiming that the Crucified is the very Son of God.

8. Did you see Paul's loyalty of heart? Did you see him proving to us by these events that his previous actions were done through ignorance?²¹ Did you see how, by his very experience in these things, he has taught all of us that he deserved to be judged worthy of kindness from above and to be led to the path of truth? When God in His goodness sees a well-disposed soul led astray through ignorance, He does not disregard that soul nor give it up to its own great recklessness, but He shows it all the good things which come from Him and fails in nothing that pertains to our salvation, if we make ourselves worthy to reap abundantly the benefit of grace from above, as did that blessed apostle.

9. Certainly, what he had previously done was done in the ignorance of his belief that his zeal was exacting vengeance for the law,²² but he caused trouble and confusion for all. However, when he learned from the Lawgiver Himself that he was on the wrong road and was unwittingly going over a precipice,²³ he did not put it off or delay, but as soon as he was illumined by the light of the spirit, he set aside his error and became a herald of the truth. And the first ones he wished to lead onto the path of piety were those to whom he was carrying the letters which he had gotten from the high priests. For he himself said in an address to the Jews: *As the high priest can bear me witness and all the elders, that I received letters from them and was going to Damascus to bring those who were in bonds there back to the high priests in Jerusalem.*²⁴

10. Did you see him raging like a lion and rushing everywhere? See him again all at once changed into a gentle

lamb; a man who before this was binding, throwing into prison, persecuting, and pursuing all who believed in Christ now suddenly, for the sake of Christ, is let down through the wall in a basket to escape the plots of the Jews.²⁵ Again, see him brought by night to Caesarea and from there sent to Tarsus that he might not be torn asunder by the madness of the Jews.²⁶ Did you see, beloved, how great a change there was? Did you see how different he became? Did you see how he reaped the benefit of God's liberality and then abundantly contributed his own share—I mean his zeal, his fervor, his faith, his courage, his patience, his lofty mind, and his undaunted will? This is why he deserved a larger measure of help from above. This is why he writes to the Corinthians and says: *I have labored more than any of them, yet not I, but the grace of God with me.*²⁷

11. I urge you to imitate him. You have deserved now to go under the yoke of Christ and you have enjoyed the benefit of filial adoption; now show forth, right from the beginning, such a fervor and faith in Christ that you may draw to yourselves richer graces from on high, and may make the garment given to you shine more brightly, and may enjoy the abundant favor of the Master. Even though you had never done anything good, even though you had the burden of your sins lying heavy upon you, He imitated His own goodness and judged you worthy of these great gifts. For He not only delivered you from your sins and gave you justification by His grace, but He also showed you forth as holy and made you His sons by adoption. If He has taken the lead in giving you such gifts, if you are eager, after receiving so much, to contribute your fair share, if you will show care in guarding and managing the gifts that have already been given, how can He fail to judge you worthy again of still greater liberality?²⁸

FAITH IN CHRIST AND BAPTISM ARE A NEW CREATION

12. You heard today²⁹ that the blessed Paul, who leads the Church to Christ as a bride to her spouse,³⁰ told us in his letter to the Corinthians: *If any man is in Christ, he is a new creature.*³¹ To prevent us from interpreting the text as applying to a visible creation, he stated: *If any man is in Christ,* teaching us that if any man has gone over to the side of those who believe in Christ, he is an example of a new creature. Tell me, if we see new heavens and other portions of His creation, is there a profit in this which can match the benefit we gain from seeing a man converted from evil to virtue and changing from the side of error to that of truth? This is what the blessed Paul called a new creature, and so straightway he went on to say: *The former things have passed away; behold, they are all made new!*³² By this he showed in brief that those who, by their faith in Christ, had put off like an old cloak the burden of their sins, those who had been set free from their error and been illumined by the light of justification, had put on this new and shining cloak, this royal robe. This is why he said: *If any man is in Christ, he is a new creature: the former things have passed away; behold, they are all made new.*³³

13. How could it be anything but new and incredible, when he who yesterday and the day before spent his time in luxurious and gluttonous living suddenly embraces a life of self-control and simplicity? How could it be anything but new and altogether incredible, when he who was formerly incontinent and consumed with the pleasures of this life suddenly rises above his passions and, as if no longer clad in flesh, pursues the life of temperance and chastity?

14. Did you see how a new creation has truly taken place? The grace of God has entered these souls and molded

them anew, reformed them, and made them different from what they were.³⁴ It did not change their substance, but made over their will, no longer permitting the tribunal of the mind's eyes to entertain an erroneous notion, but by dissipating the mist which was blinding their eyes, God's grace made them see the ugly deformity of evil and virtue's shining beauty as they truly are.³⁵

15. Did you see how each day the Master works a new creation? For who else, tell me, persuaded the man who often has spent his whole life in the pleasures of this world and who has worshiped stones and wood, thinking that they were gods, suddenly to rise to such a height of virtue that he scorns and mocks all those pleasures, and sees that the stones are stones and, in like manner, that the wood is wood? Consequently, he now worships the Creator of all things and puts faith in Him above all things in this life.³⁶

16. Do you see why faith in Christ and the return to virtue are called a new creation? I exhort you, therefore, both you who have previously been initiated and you who have just now enjoyed the Master's generosity, let us all listen to the exhortation of the Apostle, who tells us: *The former things have passed away; behold, they are all made new.*³⁷ Let us forget the whole past and, like citizens in a new world, let us reform our lives, and let us consider in our every word and deed the dignity of Him who dwells within us.

THE NEOPHYTE SHOULD SHINE ESPECIALLY BY HIS CONDUCT

17. Men who undertake public service in the temporal sphere often wear the mark of the imperial images on their robes³⁸ and on that account appear trustworthy in the eyes

of all. These men would never endure doing anything unworthy of the robe which bears the imperial insignia; even if they ever attempt to do so, they have many to prevent them. And if there be some who would wish to treat these men ill, the robe they wear is a sufficient guarantee that they will suffer no indignity. So those who have Christ, not on their robes but dwelling in their souls, and with Him His Father and the manifestation of the Holy Spirit, would do right to exhibit much greater assurance and to make it all the more clear to all by the exact conduct and management of their lives that they too are wearing the imperial image.

18. Those who show the imperial images on the front of their robes stand out and are known to all. If we should so resolve, after once and for all we have put on Christ and have been judged worthy to have Him dwell within us, we will be able, without uttering a word, to show to all, by the discipline of our lives, the power of Him who dwells within us. Now the robe you wear and your gleaming garments³⁹ attract the eyes of all; if you should will to do so, by keeping your royal robe shining even more brightly than it now does, by your godly conduct and your strict discipline, you will always be able to draw all who behold you to show the same zeal and praise for the Master.

19. It was on this account that Christ said: *Let your light shine before men, in order that they may see your good works and give glory to your Father who is in heaven.*⁴⁰ Did you see how He urges us to let the light within us shine forth not by garments but by deeds? After He said: *Let your light shine*, He added: *in order that they may see your good works*. This light does not stop with the bodily senses but illumines the soul and understanding of those who see it; after it dispels the darkness of evil, it draws those who find it to shine with their own light and to imitate the life of virtue.⁴¹

20. *Let your light shine before men*, He says.⁴² And He was right in saying *before men*. Let your light be so bright, He says, that it not only illumines yourselves but shines before men who need it to guide them. Just as light for the bodily eyes puts the darkness to flight and keeps on the right path those who travel a material road, so the light for the mind which comes from the excellence of your conduct lights the way for those whose mental vision is so muddled by the darkness of error that they cannot see the path of virtue. This light clears away the mist from the spiritual eyes of these travelers, puts them on the right road, and makes them walk thenceforth on the path of virtue.

21. *That they may see your good works and give glory to your Father who is in heaven*. Let your virtue, He says, and your well-disciplined conduct, and the uprightness of your deeds move those who behold you to praise the common Master of us all. I exhort you: let each one of you be eager to live his life with such exactness that prayers of worship may ascend to the Master from all who behold you.⁴³

22. It was on this account that the blessed Paul, imitator of Christ, teacher of perfect conduct, who went everywhere and did everything for the salvation of men, said in his letter to the Corinthians: *If any man is in Christ, he is a new creature. The former things have passed away; behold, they are all made new.*⁴⁴ It was almost as if he were exhorting us and saying: You have put off the old garment; you have put on the new, which is so bright that it vies in brilliance with the rays of the sun. See to it that you keep the garment in this same shining beauty. For as long as that wicked demon, the enemy of our salvation, sees this spiritual robe of ours all shining, he will not dare to stand near, because he is so afraid of its brightness. For the luster it sends forth blinds his eyes.

23. Therefore, I exhort you: show yourselves good

fighters from the very outset; make yours a brilliant luster by making the beauty of this garment more shining and brilliant in every way. Let no idle or random word escape your lips.⁴⁵ Let us consider first whether what we say can be of any benefit and if it can provide edification for those who hear it; then let us say what we have to say with great fear, just as if someone were standing by and writing down our words. Let us remember what our Lord⁴⁶ said. *I tell you, that of every idle word men speak, they shall give account on the Day of Judgment.*⁴⁷

24. Let there be from our part no worldly, vain, and unprofitable conversation. We have chosen henceforth a new and different way of life, and our actions must fit this new life, in order that we may not become unworthy of it. You see, do you not, how, in the dignities of this world, those who are eager to belong to the Council, as they call it, are prevented by human laws from doing certain things, although these actions are freely allowed to other men.⁴⁸ In the same way, both you who have just been initiated and we who deserved this grace in the past, having once and for all been enrolled in this assembly, would be justified in not pursuing the same things as other men, but in showing discipline in our speech and purity in our thoughts, and in instructing each of our members to undertake no action which does not bring a rich profit⁴⁹ to the soul.

25. What do I mean by this? Keep the tongue employed exclusively in hymns and praise, in reading of the divine word, and in spiritual conversation, *whatever is good for edification, that it may give grace to the hearers. And do not grieve the Spirit of God, in whom you were sealed.*⁵⁰ Did you see that failure to do so grieves the Holy Spirit? Therefore, I urge you, let us be eager to do nothing which grieves the Holy Spirit. Even if we must go forth from our homes,

let us not frequent gatherings which will do us harm, let us avoid meetings which are unprofitable and filled with nonsense. Above all, let us hold nothing in higher honor than God's church, the houses of prayer,⁵¹ and gatherings where the conversation is of spiritual things.

26. And let each of our actions be well marked by decorum. *For the attire of the man, and the laughter of the teeth, and the gait of the foot show what a man is.*⁵² The outward appearance can be a clear image of the inner condition of the soul, and the movement of the limbs is the best indication of inward beauty.⁵³ If we walk in the market place, let us pass through with such a serene presence that all who meet us turn to look at us. Let us keep our eyes from roving and our feet from rambling. Let our tongue speak calmly, as it should. In a word, let our whole exterior attitude reveal the beauty of the soul which dwells within. Henceforth let our life be strange and different, since what now belongs to us is new and strange, as the blessed Paul points out when he says: *If any man is in Christ, he is a new creature.*⁵⁴

27. That you may know that the gifts we have received are new and unusual, here is the proof. We, who before this time were more vile than mud and were, so to speak, crawling along the ground, have suddenly become more shining than gold and have exchanged earth for heaven.⁵⁵ This is because all our gifts belong to the spiritual order. Our robe is a spiritual one; spiritual, too, is our food and drink. It should follow that henceforth all our actions and deeds will be spiritual. For these are the fruit of the Spirit, as St. Paul says. *But the fruit of the Spirit is charity, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faith, modesty, continence. Against such things there is no law,*⁵⁶ he says. And he was

right. Those who pursue virtue are above the law and are not subject to the law. *The law is not made for the just.*⁵⁷

28. Following his enumeration of the fruits of the Spirit, St. Paul went on to say: *They who belong to Christ have crucified their flesh with its passions and desires,*⁵⁸ just as if someone should say: they have shown that the flesh is inefficacious for doing evil deeds and they have made it inoperative. They have done battle with it to such effect that they have made it superior to its passions and desires. This is what Paul would have us understand when he said: *They have crucified it.* When a man is fastened to a cross and has been pierced with those nails, he is broken by the pain and tormented, so to speak, in every fiber of his being. In this state he could never be troubled by the desires of the flesh, but every passion and wicked desire is put to rout by the pain which leaves no room for those passions. In the same way, those who have dedicated themselves to Christ have nailed themselves to Him by this dedication and have jeered at the concupiscence of the body, just as if they had crucified themselves together with their passions and desires.

29. Since we have become Christ's and have put Him on, since we are judged deserving of His spiritual food and drink, let us train ourselves to live as men who have nothing in common with the affairs of the present life. For we have been enrolled as citizens of another state, the heavenly Jerusalem. Therefore, let us show forth works worthy of that state, so that by these works, through which we practice virtue and invite others to glorify the Master, we may win an abundance of favor from above. When our Master is glorified, He pours forth His gifts on us with a prodigal hand, since He has accepted our good will and has seen that He is not bestowing His benefits on souls which are ungrateful and ill-disposed.

30. I know that my discourse has been long. Forgive me. It is my great tenderness toward you which has made my instruction long. I see your great spiritual wealth and I have seen the madness of the wicked demon. Now especially do you need a large measure of security and protection. This is why I exhorted you to be sober and watch and to show constant wakefulness in guarding this spiritual treasure of yours, so that the enemy of our salvation can find no opening.⁵⁹

31. Keep strong and unshaken your contract with the Master, which you wrote not with ink nor on paper, but with faith and in confession.⁶⁰ Be zealous to remain all the days of your life in the same brilliance. If we shall be willing constantly to contribute our fair share,⁶¹ it is possible not only to remain in this shining brightness, but even to make this spiritual robe of ours more brilliant, since Paul too, after the grace of baptism, appeared all the more bright and shining as the grace within him bloomed forth with each passing day.

32. Each day, then, let us be eager and careful to keep this bright robe of ours without spot or wrinkle.⁶² Even in things that are considered to be trifles, let us keep close watch, so that we may also be able to escape the serious sins. If we shall begin to scorn some sins as insignificant, little by little as we walk the way of life we will come to falls which are disastrous.⁶³ Hence, I urge you to carry in your mind at all times the memory of your contract and to flee the disgrace of all those things you have put behind you—I mean the devil's pomps⁶⁴ and all the other snares of the wicked one; I urge you to keep whole and entire your contract with Christ, so that you may be untouched by the tricks of the devil, while you continue to reap the benefit of these spiritual banquets⁶⁵ and to be strengthened by the nourishment they give.

33. Draw to yourselves, by the excellence of your conduct, such an abundance of grace from the Spirit that you are

unconquerable, that the Church of God leaps for joy at your progress, that the Master of us all is glorified, and that all of us are judged worthy of the kingdom of heaven⁸⁶—by the grace and the mercies and the love of His only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, with whom to the Father, together with the Holy Spirit, be glory, power, and honor, now and forever, world without end. Amen.

THE FIFTH INSTRUCTION

Exhortation to the Neophytes to Abstain from Softness,
Extravagance, and Drunkenness, and to Esteem
Moderation above All Things¹

LET US FIND NO PRETEXT FOR LAXITY IN THE PASCHAL FEAST

1. Beloved, even if the fasting is over, let the piety remain. Even if the time of the holy quarantine² has gone by, let us not put aside the memory of it. Let no one feel displeasure at this exhortation; for I do not say it to impose on you another period of fasting,³ but because I wish you both to relax and to display now a more exact kind of fasting—but the true one. For it is possible for one who is not fasting to fast.⁴ How is this? I shall tell you. While on the one hand we are taking food, let us, on the other, abstain from sin. For this is the fasting which helps us, and it is with this fasting in view that we abstain from food, so that we may more easily run in the course of virtue. Therefore, if we wish both to take proper care of the body and to keep the soul free from sin, let us take heed and act accordingly.

2. This manner of fasting will be easier for us. Regarding the other kind, I mean abstaining from food, I used to hear many a man say he found it difficult to endure the burden of want of food, and blame the weakness of his body, and utter many other bitter laments, saying that his health was being ruined because he had to go without a bath and had to confine his drinking to water.⁵ No such excuse is

possible with regard to the fasting from sin. It is possible to enjoy all these things and to supply the corresponding service to the body, and also to take proper care of the soul. In fact, I am not urging you now to abstain from any of these things.⁶ Keep away only from sin and show yourself constantly faithful to that abstinence. In this way you will be able, at every period of your life, to practice the true fasting. There is nothing to stop you from enjoying in moderation the things I enumerated; but sin in every form is forbidden. Sin, however, is born precisely from such sources as wantonness, gluttony, and too much sloth. Therefore, I exhort, since we know clearly that these are wrong, let us not use what is wrong on the pretext that we are relaxing.

3. I shall now say again what I have often said before:⁷ just as the moderate use of food greatly benefits both the health of the body and the condition of the soul, so, on the other hand, the abuse of food corrupts the whole man, body and soul. Excess in eating and drinking weakens the strength of the body and destroys the health of the soul.⁸ Let us, consequently, flee excess and not become careless in what concerns our own salvation; since we know that excess is the root of all evil, let us be careful to cut it out. Every shape of sin springs forth from wantonness and drunkenness as from its source. These vices make us slip into sin the way fuel makes a fire burn. In the case of the fire, an abundance of fuel builds a bigger fire and lifts the flames on high. So too here, if we abandon ourselves to luxury and drunkenness, we enlarge the burning pyre of our sins.

4. Since you are reasonable, I know that after my exhortation you will not permit yourselves to go beyond the bounds of what you need. But now it is appropriate for me to urge you not only to turn aside from drinking to excess, but also to avoid the drunkenness which comes without drinking wine.

For this kind is more dangerous.⁹ Be not astonished at what I say, for it is possible to be drunk without wine. That you may know that this is possible, listen to the prophet who said: *Woe to those who are drunk not from wine.*¹⁰ But what is this drunkenness which does not come from wine? It takes many and varied forms. For anger makes us drunk; so, too, vainglory, haughty madness,¹¹ and all the deadly passions which spring up in us produce a kind of drunkenness and satiety which darkens our reason. For drunkenness is nothing more than the distraction of our minds from their natural ways, the straying of reason, and the loss of our understanding.

5. How, tell me, are those who are angry and drunk with rage any better off than those who are drunk with wine? They manifest such excess that they assail all men alike, put no curb on their tongues, nor can they distinguish one face from another. Just as madmen and those who have lost their minds hurl themselves from cliffs without realizing what they do,¹² the furious and those besieged by anger do the same. On this account, the wise man, wishing to set before our minds the destruction which comes from this kind of drunkenness, said: *The weight of his anger is his downfall.*¹³ Did you see how in a brief word he hinted at the excess of that deadly passion?

6. Vainglory and haughty madness, again, are other forms of drunkenness, but more deadly than it. He who is caught in the grip of these passions just about destroys the judgment of his powers of discernment¹⁴ and is no better off than those who are mad. For day by day he is torn by these passions and does not notice it until he is swept down into the very abyss of wickedness,¹⁵ and covers himself with ills which are beyond cure. I exhort you, let us flee, then, both the drunkenness which comes from wine and the eclipse of

reason which comes to us from our disordered passions, and let us lend an ear to the common teacher of us all when he says: *Do not be drunk with wine, for in that is debauchery.*¹⁶

7. Did you see how St. Paul has made it clear to us in this text that it is possible to be drunk in other ways? If there were not another kind of drunkenness, why, after he said: *Do not be drunk*, did he add *with wine*? From what he then went on to say, you can see how profoundly wise he is and how precise is his teaching. After he said: *Do not be drunk with wine*, he went on to say: *For in that is debauchery*, showing how excessive drinking is the cause of all evils for us. *In that is debauchery*, he says. He means that by this excess we destroy the treasure of virtue.

8. I shall try to make it clear from Paul's own words, so that you may understand his meaning. We are in the habit of calling prodigal young men profligates or debauched¹⁷ if we see them wasting their patrimony without rhyme or reason and for no needful purpose, without knowing when or where to stop their spending. In a short time they have used up all their father's money and are swept down to the depths¹⁸ of poverty. Such, too, is the condition of those who are caught in the drunkenness of wine. They do not know thereafter how to apportion the wealth of their reason as they ought, but like the profligate young men they are steeped in drunkenness and, if they must speak and say something unsuitable that will do much damage, they speak and act utterly without restraint. They are even in a worse state than the profligates who waste their substance of money, since the drunkards hurl themselves into extreme poverty of virtue. They often unwittingly reveal the secrets of their souls¹⁹ and, after wasting all their possessions of reason, they see themselves suddenly reduced to privation and a complete nakedness of piety and understanding.

DRUNKENNESS IS A SELF-CHOSEN DEMON

9. A man who is drunk cannot manage his words with judgment,²⁰ but like a house which is exposed on every side and offers easy access to anyone who is plotting to destroy it, so is the reason of the drunken man open to assault and torn by deadly passions. For drunkenness is nothing other than the betrayal of one's reason, a disaster people laugh at, and a sickness at which they scoff. Drunkenness is a self-chosen demon; it eclipses reason, renders understanding barren; it feeds its fuel to our carnal passions. Often we take pity on the man who is tortured by a demon, but the demon of drink irritates and angers us.²¹ Why? Because the possessed man is abused by an evil spirit; the drunkard is an example of great carelessness and incontinence. In the first case, it is the devil who plots; in the second, the plotting is done in the drunkard's own thoughts.

10. That you may know that this is so, please notice that the drunkard endures the same and even worse torments than the man possessed. The bedeviled man foams at the mouth, falls down, and often lies motionless on the ground without recognizing those who stand about him, but rolling the pupils of his eyes. It is the same way with the drunkard. When too much wine has overcome him and destroyed the judgment of his reason, just like the possessed person, he not only foams at the mouth and lies on the ground in worse condition than a cast-out corpse, but many a time he even sends forth vile vomit from his mouth. As a result, he henceforth becomes an annoyance to his friends, a burden to his wife, mocked by his children, and well despised by his servants. To put it in a word, he sets himself forth as an object of indecency and scorn for all who see him.²²

11. Did you see how such men are in even a worse condi-

tion than those possessed by devils? Do you wish, after all that, to learn the worst of these evils? Although I have said so much on the subject, I have not yet come to the summit. The drunkard is an alien²³ to the kingdom of heaven. Listen to the blessed Paul when he says: *Do not err; neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor sodomites, nor drunkards will possess the kingdom of God.*²⁴ But perhaps someone might say: What then, are the idolater and the fornicator and the drunkard all kept out of the kingdom in the same way?²⁵ Beloved, do not make up your minds that you will learn that from me. I read you the divine law just as it is. Therefore, do not meddle with the question, whether the drunkard pays the same penalty as those other sinners, but consider this, namely, that the drunkard, just as the others, endures the loss of the kingdom. What consolation will there be hereafter for one who is excluded from the kingdom?²⁶

12. I do not now say this to condemn those of you who are here. God forbid! For I am sure that, by God's grace, you are cleansed of this passion, and I take as the strongest proof of this the zeal with which you come together and the eagerness with which you listen to this spiritual instruction. One who is not sober and alert could have no desire to hear the word of God.²⁷ But I say this because I wish through you to instruct all the others²⁸ and because I wish your own security to be strengthened, so that you may never become captives to this passion.

13. For drunkards are more irrational than irrational animals. How so? Let me tell you. When brutes are thirsty, they limit their desire by their need and would never allow themselves to go beyond this need.²⁹ But men, who are rational animals, do not consider how they may assuage their thirst but how, by drenching themselves [with wine], they

may cause for themselves a more grievous shipwreck. For just as a ship which has become waterlogged quickly sinks, so a man who has exceeded the limit set by need and has put too heavy a burden on his stomach sinks his mind and outrages the nobility of his soul.

14. Therefore, beloved, you must give considerable thought to your neighbor's correction and rescue him from this surging sea, in order that you may receive an ample reward, not only for your good deeds in your own behalf, but also for what you do in behalf of the salvation of others.³⁰ It is in this connection that St. Paul said: *Let no one seek his own interests, but those of his neighbor.*³¹ And again: *Edify one another.*³² Therefore, do not look only to your own health and freedom from disease, but take considerable thought and care that your fellow member is set free from the hurt which comes from this evil and that he flees this disease. *For we are members one of the other. And if one member suffers anything, all the members suffer with it, or if one member glories, all the members rejoice with it.*³³

THE DANGERS OF RELAXING PROVED BY THE CONDUCT OF THE JEWS

15. You did not need exhortation and advice during the holy season of Lent as much as you need it now. During that season the practice of fasting made you be temperate, even in spite of yourselves; but now I am afraid and I fear the freedom from this obligation and the relaxation which it produces. Human nature is inclined to nothing so harmful as ease.³⁴ Therefore, our loving Master, from the very beginning, has put on human nature a kind of curb and, in His great providence, has condemned man to toil and misery.³⁵

16. For we have continuous need for a curb to keep us

walking straight on the path, since even the Jews wandered from the path and drew down upon themselves the anger of heaven. When they enjoyed considerable ease and had become free after their harsh bondage in Egypt, they should have given greater thanks and been more eager to offer their praise to the Master; they should have been better disposed toward Him who had bestowed such benefits upon them. But they did quite the opposite and were ruined by the ease which was theirs in abundance. On this account the Holy Scripture accuses them and says: *Jacob ate his fill, the darling became fat and frisky.*³⁶

17. After those many marvels and unexpected signs, after the crossing of the sea, after the destruction of the Egyptians, after the mysterious and new food provided by the manna, while His benefits were still fresh in their memories, they took up a life of abundant ease, they forgot all those things, they fashioned a calf and adored it, saying: *This is your god, Israel, who led you forth from Egypt.*³⁷ What ingratitude and dreadful blindness! Such has always been their custom. Whenever they adopt the life of ease, they forget their Benefactor and rush over the precipice. But whenever their circumstances become somewhat straitened, they humble and abase themselves. This is what blessed David made clear when he said: *As He was slaying them, they sought Him.*³⁸

18. Such is the custom of ungrateful servants and of the Jews in their blindness. Hear my exhortation and let us continually ponder on the gifts of God and remember how great and many are his benefactions; let us be well-disposed and constantly recognize the cause of the good things which are ours; let us display a conduct worthy of these benefactions, and each day let us be busy about maintaining the health of our own souls. Especially you who have recently been judged worthy of divine initiation, who have put off the

burden of your sins and put on the shining robe—and what do I mean by the shining robe?—do you, who have put on Christ Himself and have received the Master of all things to dwell within you, show forth a conduct worthy of Him who dwells within you, so that you may draw a greater abundance of grace from above and be zealous in imitating him who formerly persecuted Christ but afterwards became His apostle.

THE EXAMPLE OF PAUL AND THE LESSON OF SIMON MAGUS

19. Paul was baptized and illumined by the light of truth, and in this way became a great man; as time went on, he became a much greater one.³⁹ For after he had contributed his fair share—his zeal, his ardor, his noble spirit, his seething desire, his scorn for the things of this world—there flowed into him an abundance of the gifts that come from God's grace.⁴⁰ Before this he had displayed an ungovernable madness,⁴¹ running in every direction and waging war by every means on the cause of piety. After he recognized the way of truth, he straightway confounded the ungrateful Jews and was let down through a window in a basket, that he might be able to escape the cruelty of the angry Jews.⁴² You saw how sudden was the change in him. Did you see how the grace of the Spirit reformed his soul and changed his purpose? Did you see how the grace of the Spirit, like a fire falling among thornbushes, came down on him, destroyed the thorns of his sins, and tempered him to the hardness of steel?

20. Imitate him, I beg you, and you will be able to be called newly baptized not only for two, three, ten, or twenty days, but you will be able to deserve this greeting after ten,

twenty, or thirty years have passed and, to tell the truth, through your whole life.⁴³ If we shall be eager to make brighter by good deeds the light within us—I mean the grace of the Spirit—so that it is never quenched, we shall enjoy the title of newly baptized for all time. But just as the sober and vigilant man whose conduct is worthy can continue to be a neophyte, so is it possible after a single day for a man to relax his vigilance and become unworthy of that title.

21. The blessed Paul, by his postbaptismal virtue, drew to himself an increase of help from on high and not only continued to persevere in that brightness, but also made the light of virtue which was in him shine with increased luster. On the other hand, Simon the magician at first repented and ran to receive the gift which comes through baptism. He enjoyed the benefit of the Master's grace and honor, but his purpose was unworthy and he showed great laxity. Immediately he was deprived of this great gift and was counseled by the prince of the apostles to cure the enormity of his crime by repentance. For Peter said: *Repent of this wickedness of thine, if perhaps this thought of thy heart may be forgiven thee.*⁴⁴

22. May it never come to pass that any of you who are gathered here give cause for such counsel, but, following the example of the blessed Paul, may you all devote yourselves to such a pursuit of virtue that you deserve a more abundant return of honor from the Master. The gifts we have deserved, my beloved, are not trifling. They surpass all human understanding, and the magnitude of what has been given overwhelms our reason. Consider, if you please, how great is the office which has been entrusted to you and what a dignity you have received from the King of all the world. You who were a slave, a captive, and a rebel have suddenly been exalted to adoption as His son. Therefore, do not relax,

do not permit this dignity to be taken away from you, and do not allow yourself to be deprived of this spiritual wealth. For unless you will it to be so, no one will ever be able to take away the gifts which God has given to you.

23. And yet in human affairs this is not possible. For whenever someone obtains some dignity from an earthly king, to take it away does not lie in the will of him who receives, but the one who offers the honor also has the power to take it away; when he wishes, he strips the recipient of his honor, releases him from his office, and immediately makes him a private citizen again. In the case of our King, it is altogether different. Once the dignity has been given to us through His kindness—I mean such honors as sonship by adoption, sanctity, the grace of the Spirit—no one will ever be able to take these things away from us, unless we grow lax. What do I mean, “take away”? If He sees that we are well disposed, He supplements what He has already bestowed on us and, according to the great honor which is ours, He will increase again the gifts He has given.

THOSE LONG SINCE BAPTIZED CAN RECOVER THEIR INNOCENCE BY A CONVERSION

24. Knowing, therefore, that after the grace of God everything depends on us and on our zeal, let us be grateful for the gifts which have already been given, so that we may make ourselves worthy of still greater gifts.⁴⁵ Therefore, I exhort you who have just deserved the divine gift to keep careful watch and to guard the spiritual garment bestowed on you, keeping it clean and spotless. Let those of us who received this gift in the past show a far-reaching change in our lives. It is possible, if we are willing, it is possible for

us to return and go back to our former beauty and luster, if only we will do our fair share.

25. In the case of bodily beauty, once the countenance has become ugly and has lost its beauty because of old age, disease, or some other bodily condition, it cannot return again to its peak of splendor. What happens is characteristic of nature, and on this account it is impossible to return to the luster of one's former beauty. But in the case of the soul, if we are willing, this can happen through the ineffable kindness of God. The soul which was once sullied and became disfigured and disgraced by the multitude of its sins can quickly return to its former beauty, if we give evidence of ample and exact repentance.

26. But this I say to myself and to those who deserved baptism long ago. You new soldiers of Christ, do you heed me and show yourselves eager in every way to keep your garment clean. Be careful and take thought for your luster now, so that you will live in purity at all times and get no stain on your robe. This is much better than that you grow careless and later weep and beat your breast so that you may wipe clean the filth that has besmirched you. Do not suffer what we have suffered, I beg you, but let the laxity of your predecessors be the foundation for your security.⁴⁶

27. Like valiant and vigilant soldiers of the Spirit, shine up your spiritual weapons each day, so that your enemy may see the glitter of your arms, retreat far off, and never even consider making a stand from close at hand. When he sees not only that your armor shines but that you are prepared to defend yourselves on every side, when he sees that the treasure house of your understanding has been carefully secured, he will cover his face and go away, knowing that it will profit him nothing even if he tries ten thousand attacks. Even

though he is shameless, reckless, and more relentless than any beast, he recognizes his own weakness quite clearly when he sees your spiritual panoply and the strength given to you by the Spirit. He condemns himself and, full of shame, he hurries to retire, because he knows that he would be attempting what cannot be done.

28. I beg you, let us all be sober.⁴⁷ Let us who deserved this gift in the past be sober, so that we may be able to cleanse away the filth which has besmirched us and that we may be able to return to our former beauty. You recent recipients of the King's liberality be sober too; show great vigilance and firmness, so that you may live in purity all your days and get no wrinkle or stain on your robe from the wiles of the devil. Just as if he were present and standing next to us, shooting the darts of his wickedness, let us defend ourselves on every side. With great zeal let us range ourselves against him, taking careful thought for our own salvation, that we may be able to flee his wiles and that, having remained unwounded ourselves, we may draw down on our souls the help of heaven. May we do all this by the grace and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, with whom be to the Father and the Holy Spirit glory, power, and honor, now and forever, world without end. Amen.

THE SIXTH INSTRUCTION

Addressed to the Neophytes in Criticism of Those Who
Have Abandoned the Religious Service and Have Gone
Off to the Chariot Races and the Theatres, and on
How Much Care We Must Take of Our Brothers
Who Are Negligent¹

SOME CHRISTIANS HAVE DESERTED THE CHURCH TO RUN TO THE SPECTACLES

(1. Again² there are chariot races and satanic spectacles in the hippodrome,³ and our congregation is shrinking. It is on this account and because I feared and anticipated the negligence which comes from ease and security⁴ that I exhorted you and encouraged you in your love not to squander the wealth you had won by fasting, nor to inflict on yourselves the outrage which comes from Satan's spectacles.⁵ As it seems, no profit came to you from this exhortation. See how some who heard my previous instruction have today rushed away.⁶ They gave up the chance to hear this spiritual discourse⁷ and have run off to the hippodrome.) They have cast altogether out of their minds the memory of the holy season of Lent, the feast of salvation on the day of the Resurrection,⁸ their awesome and ineffable communion in the divine mysteries, and my series of instructions.

2. With what zeal, tell me, shall I hereafter undertake my usual instruction, when I see that they no longer derive profit from my words, but that, the longer my discourses continue, the more, I might say, does their negligence increase? This makes my grief greater and their condemnation more

grave. Not only is my grief increased, but so too has my discouragement.⁹ When a farmer sees that, after all his work and troubles, the earth produces no return for his labors but is no more productive than a stone, he is more hesitant thereafter to work the land, because he sees that his work is idle and in vain. So, too, when the teacher sees that, after he has shown great care and taught unceasingly, his disciples continue in the same negligence, he could never deliver his spiritual instruction with the same zeal, even though in this case the recompense for his labors is not made less by the laxity of those who hear him.¹⁰

3. What we see happen to the farmer does not happen in the case of spiritual instruction. When the earth deceives the farmer, he returns home with empty hands and could find no consolation from his labors. This is not so in spiritual instruction, but even if the disciples remain in the same state of negligence and if no one draws profit from what is said, so long as the teacher has not failed in anything which he ought to do, he gets abundant recompense for his labors, since God in His kindness does not cut off the reward for toils because the disciples were negligent, but offers generous payment whether the disciples listen or not.

4. However, I am not only considering whether my recompense and payment stays the same, but I also deem it very important that you benefit, and I look on your laxity as my own personal loss.¹¹ On this account I consider that my joy is blunted,¹² especially since I understand that this very neglect of what I say brings a more serious condemnation on those who are unwilling to derive profit from my series of instructions and who continue in this laxity after I have exhorted them so strongly.

5. Christ said of the Jews: *If I had not come and spoken to them, they would have no sin. But now they have no*

*excuse for their sin.*¹³ It will be fitting now for us to say this to those who have scorned our assembly here and have preferred the amusements of the world, the harmful gatherings at the racecourses and at Satan's spectacles. If I had not anticipated their faults and made my exhortation so strong, teaching them by my voice the whole time, encouraging them like little boys every day,¹⁴ turning them to the path of virtue by my series of instructions, showing them the damage done by vice, stirring them to correct their former failures—if, then, I had not anticipated them by doing all these things, perhaps someone might have judged that they deserved to be pardoned.

6. But now, what defense do they have? Not only will they receive the serious injury that comes from such negligence, but they will also be the occasion for scandal to others. Who, then, will pardon them? Who will pardon the old man who takes no thought of his age, nor of the proximity of death, nor the enormous burden of his past sins, but each day multiplies his offenses and becomes for the young their teacher in the ways of laxity? When, tell me, will such a man be able to correct the laxity of his son or control the young man of disordered passions, when he himself has not learned self-control at his time of life? Even though he is going to render an account not only of his own deeds but also for the lessons in laxity which he gives to others, he does not desist from this wicked habit.¹⁵

7. The man who pursues virtue not only expects recompense in return for his own toils, but also reaps a reward for the help he has given to others by leading them to a zeal for and imitation of his own virtue. In the same way, those who pursue wickedness render a more severe account, because they provide others with an occasion for being lax. How, then, shall I admonish the young, when those who have

grown old have fallen into such laxity and heed not the exhortation of the Apostle, who said: *Do not be a stumbling block to Jews and Greeks and to the Church of God?*¹⁶

WHAT "DO ALL FOR THE GLORY OF GOD" MEANS

8. Did you see what counsel the Apostle has drawn from his most inward being? He fears exceedingly and trembles for those who are hurt by our laxity, and he knows that no small danger lies in store for those who move others to become lax. This is why, in exhorting others to take heed of virtue in all things, he said: *Whether you eat or drink, or do anything else, do all for the glory of God.*¹⁷ Notice, please, the exactness of his exhortation. Let all the things which you undertake and accomplish have this root and foundation, namely, that they tend to the glory of God, and let no action of yours fail to have this foundation. *Therefore, whether you eat or drink, or do anything else, do all for the glory of God.*¹⁸

9. And how is it possible, he says, to eat and drink for the glory of God? When you are seated at table and give thanks to Him who has given, when you recognize who it is who supplies and supports you,¹⁹ when you bring in no worldly conversation, but after fulfilling the needs of the body with great temperance and avoiding all excess and gluttony, you rise up and give thanks to Him who provides food for our subsistence, then you have done all things for the glory of God. For St. Paul says: *Whether you eat or drink, or do anything else, do all for the glory of God.*

10. Consider, please, how in this brief text he has gathered together our whole life. For when he said: *If you do anything*, he has enclosed our whole existence in a single word, desiring that we never perform any act of virtue with

an eye to human glory. And not only that, but when he said: *If you do anything else, do all for the glory of God*, he means us to learn another lesson, namely, to refrain altogether from evil deeds and to do nothing which fails to bring glory to the common Master of us all.²⁰ And if we pursue virtue, let us seek, before all, to gain for ourselves the approval which comes from God alone, and let us take no account of the praise which comes from men. If we are lax, we should be afraid and humble our thinking with the thought of that judgment which cannot be bribed.²¹ Let us tremble at the approach of that dread day and the thought that our actions provoke blasphemy against God. In the case of those who are in pursuit of virtue it is said: *I shall glorify those who glorify me.*²² But hear the prophet again when he says: *Woe to you, because through you my name is blasphemed among the Gentiles.*²³

11. Do you see God's wrath in this saying? But how is it possible to glorify God? By living for the glory of God and making our life shine in the way of which He spoke elsewhere when He said: *Let your light shine before men, in order that they may see your good works and give glory to your Father in heaven.*²⁴ Nothing brings such glory to our Master as does the best conduct. Just as the light of the sun illumines with its rays the faces of those who look upon it, so virtue draws all who look on it to contemplate it and moves those who are well disposed to glorify the Master. Let us do everything we do in such a way as to move each one who sees us to glorify God, for it is written: *If you do anything, do all for the glory of God.*²⁵

12. What do I mean? If you ever wish to associate with someone, make sure that you do not give your attention to those who enjoy health and wealth and fame as the world sees it, but take care of those in affliction, those in critical

circumstances, those in prison, those who are utterly deserted and enjoy no consolation. Put a high value on associating with these; for from them you shall receive much profit, you will be a better lover of the true wisdom,²⁶ and you will *do all for the glory of God*. And if you must visit someone, prefer to pay this honor to orphans, widows, and those in want rather than to those who enjoy reputation and fame. God Himself has said: *I am the father of orphans and the protector of widows.*²⁷ And again: *Judge for the fatherless, defend the widow. Then come and let us talk, saith the Lord.*²⁸

13. If you wish merely to go to the market place, remember the exhortation of the Apostle when he says: *If you do anything, do all for the glory of God.*²⁹ Do not waste your time in senseless and harmful meetings, but run to the house of God, that your body and soul together may receive the greatest profit.³⁰ And if we talk with anybody, let us do so with modesty and great meekness; let us refrain from prolonging conversations on worldly topics which bring us no benefit; but let us continue to talk of the things which will bring great profit to those who hear and which will set us free from all reproach.

THE GRAVITY OF SCANDAL AND THE DUTY OF FRATERNAL CORRECTION

14. It was not without a reason that I brought up this question before your loving assembly.³¹ I did so that you might know how firm we must be if we wish to take some thought for our salvation. I wanted you to know how serious a condemnation they deserve who prefer worldly amusements, foolish and harmful associations, the racecourse, and Satan's deadly spectacles to our gathering in this place and this

spiritual instruction. They deserve this condemnation because they have turned a deaf ear to the blessed Paul when he said: *Do not be a stumbling block to Jews and Greeks and to the Church of God.*³²

15. What pardon or defense is left for such people? Here is a Christian, who has partaken of our instruction and enjoyed the fruit of the awesome and ineffable mysteries, tarrying with the Jews and the Greeks and enjoying the same things which bring them pleasure.³³ When shall we be able after this, tell me, to take him who has wandered and lead him back to the truth? When will we be able to draw back to the way of piety one who has fallen into such a habit of laxity? Is it not fitting for us to say to them what blessed Paul said to the Corinthians who kept going to the temples of idolatry after they had received the word of piety? *For if a man sees you who "have knowledge" reclining at table in an idol place,* he says.³⁴

16. But we shall change the text slightly and say: "If a man sees you who have knowledge of piety passing the whole day in those senseless and harmful associations, will not the conscience of this weak man be emboldened to pursue such actions more earnestly?" That blessed apostle said this to keep in check those who heedlessly, even after having knowledge of piety, were exposing themselves to the idol places and causing scandal to the rest. We shall say it now in all timeliness to those who run to those forbidden gatherings and prefer worldly amusements to our gathering here in church.

17. But what profit is there in such accusations when the guilty are not present to hear what is said? Even so, my exhortation will not be without purpose; for it is possible for them to get exact knowledge of all I have said through their association with you, and on the one hand to flee the devil's snare, and on the other to return to their spiritual nourish-

ment. This is what physicians do. When they examine the sick, they discuss the means of cure not only with the patients but also with those in good health who are standing nearby. They give instructions to the patient's relatives and leave it in their hands to carry out their orders. Then they leave, just as if they had put everything to rights. Even if our patients are not here, we entrust their cure to you who are well, and I reveal the grief of my soul to you, that hereafter you may care for the salvation of your own members and fulfil by your deeds the exhortation of the Apostle, who said: *Whether you eat or drink, or do anything else, do all for the glory of God.*³⁵

18. For when you leave here and take up the task of your brother's salvation, not only accusing and reproving him, but also counseling and encouraging him, showing the harm that comes from worldly amusement and the profit and benefit to be derived from our instruction, you have done all for the glory of God. And you have doubled your reward, both because you are producing great profit for your own salvation and because you have been eager to cure one of your own members.³⁶ This is the glory of the Church, this is the commandment of our Saviour, namely, to look not only to one's own good but also to that of one's neighbor.³⁷

19. Consider to what a dignity he exalts himself who esteems his brother's salvation as of great importance. Such a man is imitating God as far as lies within the power of man. Hear what God says speaking through His prophet: *He who separates the worthy from the vile shall be as my mouth.*³⁸ What He says is that he who is eager to save a brother who has fallen into careless ways, he who hastens to snatch his brother from the jaws of the devil, that man imitates me as far as lies in human power. What could equal that? This is greater than all good deeds. This is the peak of all virtue.

20. And this is altogether reasonable. Since Christ

poured forth His blood for our salvation, St. Paul cried out against those who give scandal and do hurt to the consciences of those who see their wicked actions, saying: *And through thy "knowledge" the weak one will perish, the brother for whom Christ died.*³⁹ If, therefore, your Master poured forth His blood for your brother, it must be right that each of us give him encouragement at least by our words and that we stretch out our hand to our brothers who by their laxity have fallen into the snares of the devil. I am completely convinced that you will do this, because you have a deep affection for your fellow members;⁴⁰ I know that you will with all haste lead back your brothers to our common mother. I am convinced of this because I know that, by the grace of God, you understand how to admonish others and are well able to do so.

THE NEWLY BAPTIZED SHOULD REMAIN A NEOPHYTE ALL HIS LIFE

21. For the rest of my discourse I wish to direct my words to the newly baptized. By newly baptized I mean not only those who have just been judged worthy of the gift of the Spirit, but also those who received it a year or more ago. For if they should be willing, they too will be able to enjoy this title continuously.⁴¹ For this newness does not know old age nor is it subject to disease. It is not overcome by despondency, nor is it eclipsed by time. It yields to nothing, it is conquered by nothing except sin alone. Sin is for it the weight of years.

22. That you may know that sin is the heaviest of all burdens,⁴² listen to the prophet when he says: *As a heavy burden are my iniquities become heavy upon me.*⁴³ Not only is sin a heavy burden but it is ill-smelling. For the prophet

added: *My sores are putrified and corrupted.*⁴⁴ Did you see that sin is not only heavy but also ill-smelling? Learn also from what source it springs from the rest of the verse. For he says: *from the face of my foolishness.*⁴⁵ Foolishness, therefore, is the cause of all our evils. It is possible, then, for one who is an old man according to the age of his body to be a young man and a neophyte because of the bloom of grace. It is also possible for one who is young in years to be old and bent under the multitude of his sins. For wherever sin finds an entrance, it produces many a stain and many a wrinkle.

23. That is why I exhort both those recently deemed worthy of baptism and those who received this gift before.⁴⁶ Those long since baptized I urge to cleanse away, by confession, tears, and most exact repentance, the filth they have already contracted. The newly baptized I exhort to keep the bloom of their luster and to keep watch over the beauty of their souls, so that they get no spot on them which can make them unclean. Do you not see how much care is taken by a man clad in a shining bright robe as he walks in the market place that no spot of mud splashes up to sully the beauty of his robe, even though this would do no harm to his soul? For the robe can be destroyed by moths and worn out with time. Besides, when it is dirty, it is easily washed clean with water. But in the case of the soul—and heaven forbid that it happen—if it ever should happen and the soul will receive some stain either from the tongue or the thoughts born in the mind, there straightway comes over the soul a great disgrace, a heavy burden, and a foul stench.

24. That is why, in my fear of the enemy's tricks, I am continually exhorting you⁴⁷ to keep the marriage robe in its integrity, that with it you may enter forever into this spiritual marriage. And what takes place here is a spiritual marriage.⁴⁸ Just as in marriage between man and woman the bridal feast

is prolonged for seven days, see how we too extend for the same number of days your bridal feast, setting before you the table of the mysteries, filled with good things beyond number. And why do I say seven days? If you are willing to live soberly and to keep vigilant, this banquet is prolonged for you through all time, provided that you keep your bridal robe inviolate and radiant.

25. For in this way you will draw the Bridegroom to a fuller love and you yourselves will shine forth with increasing radiance and luster as time goes on, because grace increases more and more with the good deeds we do. May we all keep a guard worthy of the gift that has already been given and deserve the kindly love which comes from on high by the grace and mercy of His only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, with whom be to the Father and the Holy Spirit glory, power, and honor, now and forever, world without end. Amen.

THE SEVENTH INSTRUCTION

Addressed to the Neophytes. That the Relics of the Holy Martyrs Are for Us an Occasion of Great Benefit and That It Is Necessary to Scorn All Worldly Things and to Attach Ourselves to the Spiritual. How Great a Good Prayer and Almsgiving Are.¹

THE NEOPHYTES ARE REUNITED AT THE TOMBS OF THE MARTYRS

1. To show His great and varied providence toward the race of man, God in His loving-kindness fashioned the whole creation. He stretched out the heaven and spread out the sea. He lit the lamp of the sun and made the moon to shine. He gave us the earth for our dwelling and all the products of the earth to feed and sustain our bodies.² He has also given us the relics of the holy martyrs, although He has taken their souls to Himself,³ for He says: *The souls of the just are in the hand of God.*⁴ But even to this day He has left us their bodies to give us the exhortation and encouragement we need. Hence, as we stand before the tombs of these holy ones, let us rouse ourselves to such zeal as to imitate them; as we look upon their tombs, let us call to mind the deeds by which they won success; let us think of the reward stored up for a triumph such as theirs.

2. If we are sober,⁵ great benefit accrues to our souls from their example. For no discourse of mine can teach you and draw you to true doctrine and to scorn the present life as can the sufferings of the martyrs. Their sufferings send forth a voice that rings more clearly than the clarion call; and by their deeds they show forth to all the great reward they have won by their pains and the surpassing payment they have

received in return. Just as the word falls short of the deed, so my instruction falls short of what these holy ones have taught us by their deeds.⁶

3. Beloved, when you stand beside these tombs and your mind considers that this whole throng hastens with such speed to gather here that they may clasp the dust and reap the blessing which comes from these tombs,⁷ how will your mind fail to be lifted aloft, how will you fail to be eager to show the same zeal as the martyr, so that you may yourself be judged worthy of the same reward? If they enjoy such honor here from us, their fellow subjects, what sort and how great a freedom to speak⁸ will they enjoy from the Master on that dread day when they are going to shine forth more brilliantly than the rays of the sun?⁹ For He says: *Then the just will shine forth like the sun.*¹⁰

4. Since we realize how free they are to speak, let us always have recourse to them and accept the help which they will give. Men who have the freedom to speak to an earthly king can win many great benefits to help those who have recourse to them. Because of their sufferings, these blessed martyrs who have won the freedom to address the King of heaven will be all the more able to win for us the greatest blessings, if only we do our fair share. For they will be able to help us by their intercession most of all if we ourselves do not grow lax but prove by the close attention and care we give to our lives that we are eager to draw to ourselves the Master's loving-kindness.

THE MARTYRS ARE SPIRITUAL PHYSICIANS WHO CURE THE ILLS OF SOUL AND BODY

5. Let us have continuous recourse to them as to physicians of the spirit. It was for this reason that the good Master

has left their bodies with us, that we might stand beside their tombs and clasp them with the whole strength of our soul, and in this way get from them the greatest healing for our illnesses of soul and body. For if we stand beside them with faith, whether our sickness be of the body or the soul, we will not leave their tombs without the healing of which we stood in need.

6. And yet, in the case of bodily ailments, we must often be sent far from home to find the hand of a physician, we must pay out money, and contrive many other inducements which can persuade the physician to contribute the knowledge of his art and to find relief for us in our sickness. But here we need none of these things, neither the long journey, nor the trouble, nor the going back and forth, nor the expense; it is enough that we bring a loyal faith, that we shed warm tears and have a sober soul, for us to find forthwith a cure for our soul and healing for our body.¹¹

7. Did you see the power of our physicians? Did you see their munificence? Did you see their skill, which stands unconquered by disease? Although it is often true in bodily sickness that the difficulty of the disease overcomes the physician's skill, here we can never suspect any such defeat. If we approach the martyrs with faith, forthwith we shall enjoy their help. Do not wonder at this, my beloved. It was for the Master's sake and to confess their faith in Him that the martyrs endured all their torments. It was for Him that they stripped themselves¹² for the combat; it was for Him that they fought against sin to the shedding of their blood. Hence, in His loving-kindness, the Master wishes them to shine forth more brilliantly for this shedding of their blood. He wishes to increase still more their glory even in this perishable world and, to honor them, He is eager to give His gifts to those who approach His martyrs with faith.

8. What I am saying are no mere words; experience bears out and testifies to their truth. And I know well that you will speak out and bear witness. What woman was it whose husband was far away and who was suffering from this separation?¹³ Did she not come here and bring her prayer to the Master of all through the intercession of the martyrs, and quickly bring back her husband from that distant land? And again, was there not another woman who saw her child besieged by a severe sickness? She was torn by her grief and pierced to her innermost being, but she came here, poured forth her fervent tears, roused these holy martyrs, these champions of Christ, to entreat Him in her behalf. Did she not straightway drive away the disease and make the sick child recover his health?¹⁴

9. Many who have fallen into difficulties and who see unendurable dangers hanging over their heads have come here and after incessant prayer have escaped all these dreadful trials.¹⁵ And why do I speak only of bodily ailments and reversals of fortune? Many who are tyrannized by the devil himself¹⁶ and besieged by ailments of soul have come to these martyrs, the physicians of the spirit; they have recalled to mind their personal sins and have disclosed what I might call their wounds; they received such consolation from this confession that they immediately felt that their conscience had lost its burden, and they went home filled with assurance.

10. The Master has graciously given to us the tombs of the martyrs to be our spiritual fountains which can pour forth the waters in abundance.¹⁷ There are natural springs freely accessible to all who wish to draw water from them; anyone who wishes to draw water takes as much as his vessel can hold and goes away. The same thing holds true, as you can see, in the case of these spiritual fountains. These springs offer their waters for all, and we find there no distinction of per-

sons. Whether one be rich or poor, slave or free, male or female, he receives blessings from these divine waters in proportion to the greatness of his zeal and his eagerness to contribute his fair share.¹⁸

11. Vessels and pails measure the water drawn from natural springs; the water from the spiritual fountains is measured by our understanding, our fervent desire, and the sobriety with which we approach them. He who comes with these dispositions straightway carries away blessings beyond number, since the grace of God, working invisibly, lightens the burden of his conscience, brings him abundant assurance, and prepares him henceforth to put off from the shore of the earth and to weigh anchor for heaven. For it is possible for a man who is still in the embrace of his body to have nothing in common with the earth, but to set before his eyes all the joys of heaven and to contemplate them unceasingly.

DESIRE ONLY THE GOOD THINGS OF HEAVEN

12. This is why Paul, writing to the Colossians, said to men who were entwined in the flesh, spending their lives in the midst of the world, and concerned with wife and children: *Mind the things that are above.*¹⁹ Then, that we might learn the meaning of this exhortation and what minding the things above means, he went on to say: *where Christ is seated at the right hand of God.*²⁰ I wish you to mind, he says, those things which can carry your thoughts to heaven, the things which withdraw you from the business of the world. *For your citizenship is in heaven.*²¹ Hasten, he says, to bring your whole mind to that country where you are enrolled as citizens, and resolve to do the things which can show that you deserve your citizenship in heaven.²²

13. That we may not think he is enjoining on us the impossible and things that go beyond our nature, Paul again repeats his exhortation and says: *Mind the things that are above, not the things that are on earth.*²³ What is the lesson he wishes to teach us? Mind not, he says, the things that are worthy of the world. What are the things worthy of the world? Things which have no permanence, things that fly away before they are seen, things without stability and immutability, things which perish along with the present life, things that wither before they bloom, things which are subject to corruption. All human things are such, whether you mention wealth or power or glory or beauty of body or any good of this life.

14. Because he wished to point out just how cheap and vile these things are, he used the word "earth" and said: *not the things that are on earth.* Therefore, he says, mind not these things, but the things that are above. Instead of the things on earth, the cheap things which rush past and are gone, mind the things that are above, the things in heaven, the indestructible things, the things which coextend with eternity, the things which are seen by the eyes of faith, the things that know no end nor succession, the things that have no boundary. I wish you constantly to keep your minds on these things. Our concern for them frees us from earth and transports us to heaven.

15. This is why Christ said: *Where a man's treasure is, there also is his heart.*²⁴ For when the soul gets an understanding of the ineffable goods of heaven, it is, as it were, loosed from the bonds of the flesh and lifted on high. Each day it pictures to itself the enjoyment of these goods and can take no thought for the things on earth. It sweeps past mundane affairs, as if they were dreams and shadows, and

keeps the mind constantly straining toward heaven. With the eyes of faith, it considers that it all but sees the good things from on high and each moment it is alert to enjoy them.

16. Let us listen, therefore, to this blessed and wondrous teacher of the whole world, this goodly schoolmaster, the gardener of our souls, and let us ponder the counsel he has given. In this way we shall be able both to enjoy the present goods and to win those of the life hereafter. For if we seek first the goods of heaven, we shall have those of this life by way of an addition, for Christ says: *Seek the kingdom of God and His justice, and all these things shall be given you besides.*²⁵ Let us not, therefore, seek first the things He promised to give us by way of an addition; by acting contrary to the Master's counsel, we may lose both. The Master does not wait for a reminder from us and then give us His gifts, does he? He knows what we need before we ask Him. If, then, He sees that we are eager for the eternal gifts, He will graciously grant us to enjoy them and, besides, He will give us an abundance of the other gifts which He promised to contribute liberally by way of an addition. Let us seek, then, I exhort you, the spiritual things first, and let us mind the things that are above and not the things that are on earth, that we may both obtain the things above and enjoy those that are on earth.

LET US SEEK THE THINGS ABOVE
AFTER THE EXAMPLE OF THE MARTYRS

17. These holy martyrs, then, minding the things that are above and scorning the things that are on earth, sought the eternal goods.²⁶ Hence, they obtained them in abundance

and each day they enjoy the honor which is paid to them in this place, even if they have no need for it and once scorned honor altogether. Nevertheless, to help us, they accept the honor we give and which they do not need, in order that we may be able to reap the benefit of the blessing which comes from them.

18. That you may know how they scorned all the things of the present life so that they could win those good things which never die, my beloved, please consider and reckon that they saw with their bodily eyes the fire-breathing tyrant grinding his teeth, raging more wildly than a wild lion,²⁷ making ready the fire on which he would put the griddles and caldrons, doing everything to overwhelm and overcome their reason.²⁸ But they abandoned all the things upon earth and gazed with the eyes of faith on the King of heaven and the host of angels standing before Him; they pictured in their minds heaven and its ineffable blessings.

19. They transported their thoughts to heaven and paid no heed thereafter to anything they could see with their bodily eyes. Even though they saw the hands²⁹ of the executioners tearing their flesh, even though they saw that visible fire burning brightly and the embers leaping forth from it,³⁰ they sketched for themselves a picture of the fires of Gehenna and thus strengthened their reason.³¹ Then they practically jumped forward to meet their torments, nor did they take into account the present pain which they felt in their bodies, but eagerly hurried towards eternal rest.³² Acting on the exhortation of that blessed apostle and minding the things that are above, they continued to mind them in heaven, where Christ is seated at the right hand of God. The visible things impressed them not at all; they passed them by, because they considered that these were dreams and shadows

and because their desire for the things to come gave wings to their reason.

LET US SEEK THE THINGS ABOVE, FOR HE WHO
HAS BEEN BAPTIZED IS DEAD TO THE WORLD

20. That is why that blessed apostle, who knew the strength of such counsel, told us to *mind the things that are above, where Christ is seated at the right hand of God.*³³ See the sagacity of our teacher and to what a height all at once he raises those who heed him. He cut a path through the midst of all the angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principalities, virtues, all those invisible powers, the cherubim and seraphim,³⁴ and set the thoughts of the faithful right before the very throne of the King. By his teaching he has persuaded those who walk the earth to sever the bonds of the body, to take flight, and to stand in spirit by the side of Him who is the Lord of all.

21. Paul did not want those who hear these words of his to think that his counsel goes beyond their strength, nor that what he enjoins is impossible, nor that to adopt a purpose so lofty transcends the powers of human nature. So after he said: *Mind the things that are above, not the things that are on earth,* he went on to add: *For you have died.*³⁵ What a burning soul he has, and filled with what great yearning for God! *For you have died,* he says; but this is practically saying: What now do you have in common with the present life? Why do you gape after the things of earth? You have died, that is, you are corpses as far as sin is concerned. Once and for all you have renounced the present life.

22. Nor did he want them to be upset when they heard him say: *you have died,* so he quickly added: *and your life is*

*hidden with Christ in God.*³⁶ Your life is no longer seen, for it is hidden. Therefore, do not be active in the things of this life as if you were living, but be as if you had died and were corpses. For tell me this. Is it possible for one who has died as far as this life is concerned, to be active thereafter in the affairs of this life? Of course not. So, too, with you, he says. After you have died and become dead to sin once and for all by your baptism, accordingly have nothing to do with the passions of the flesh and the affairs of the world.³⁷ *For our old self*, he says, *has been crucified and buried through baptism.*³⁸ Therefore, get for yourself none of the things that are on earth, and be not active in the affairs of the present life. For your life is hidden now and unseen by those who do not believe, but the time will come when it will be seen. But now is not your time. Since you have died once and for all, refuse to mind the things that are on earth. The greatness of your virtue is plainly seen especially when you have prevailed over the arrogance of the flesh and act toward the good things of the world just as if you were dead to this life.

23. Let us listen to these truths, both you who have just now been judged worthy of the gift of baptism, and all of us who shared in this grace in the past.³⁹ Let us accept the counsel of Paul, the teacher of the whole world. Let us consider what dispositions he desires in those who have once and for all shared in the ineffable mysteries; let us consider how he wishes them to be strangers to the present life. His purpose is not to have them emigrate somewhere far from this world, but while they go about in the midst of it, he would have them act as strangers to it. He would have them shine like stars and by their actions prove to the infidels that they have changed their citizenship to another country; he would have them prove that they have nothing in common with the earth nor with the things which are on earth.

PRAYER AND ALMSGIVING ARE POWERFUL MEANS
FOR KEEPING THE BAPTISMAL ROBE BRIGHT

24. Your shining robe now arouses admiration in the eyes of all who behold you, and the radiance of your garments proves that your souls are free from every blemish. For the future, all of you, both you who have just deserved the gift and all who have already reaped for yourselves the benefit of His munificence, must make the excellence of your conduct visible to all and, after the fashion of a torch, you must illumine those who look upon you. For if we should be willing to guard the brightness of this spiritual robe, as time goes on it will send forth a more brilliant luster and an abundance of gleaming light, a thing which cannot happen in the case of material garments. For even if we multiply the care we take of our bodily clothes ten thousand times, the passing years leave them threadbare, and by the time they have gotten old they are worn away to nothing. If we keep them stored away, the moths get at them or they are ruined by the many other things which destroy material garments. If, however, we are eager to do our fair share, the garment of virtue will not become soiled nor feel the onslaught of age, but as time passes, so much the more does it reveal the fresh sheen of its beauty and its radiant light.⁴⁰

25. Did you see the power of this garment? Did you see the luster of this robe which time cannot touch, which age cannot dim? Did you see its irresistible beauty? I exhort you, then, let us be eager to preserve this beauty in its full bloom and let us learn what can keep it bright. What can do this? First of all, earnest prayer and thanksgiving for what God has already given us, and imploring Him to help us keep these gifts secure.⁴¹ This is our salvation, this is the remedy for our souls, this is the cure for the passions which surge up

in us. Prayer is the fortress of the faithful, prayer is our invincible weapon, prayer is the cleansing of our souls, prayer is the ransom for our sins, prayer is the foundation and source of countless blessings. For prayer is nothing more than conversation with God and association with the Master of all. What could be more blessed than a man who is deemed worthy of constant association with the Master?

26. That you may know how great a good this is, please consider those who feel great excitement over the affairs of the present life. These men are just like a shadow and worth no more. When they see someone continually talking with an earthly ruler, how great do they judge him to be! They point to him as the happiest of men and treat him as if he were a marvel and deserving of the highest honor. Such a man is considered to be so admirable, even though he converses with one of his own kind who shares the same human nature with him, and who talks about worldly and mortal things. But what would you say of a man who was deemed worthy of talking with God, not of the things which are on earth but about the remission of his sins, about the forgiveness of his transgressions, about protecting not only the gifts already given but also those which are going to be given and about the blessings of eternity? If by his prayer he should obtain the help of heaven, such a man would be happier than the king who wears the crown.⁴²

27. Prayer, above all, can guard continuously for us the luster of this spiritual garment. Along with prayer goes generosity in almsgiving, which is our crowning good deed and the means of our soul's salvation.⁴³ Prayer together with almsgiving can furnish us with countless good things from above; they can quench the fire of sin in our souls and can give us great freedom. Cornelius had recourse to these two virtues and sent his prayers up to heaven. Because of these

two virtues he heard the angel say: *Thy prayers and thy alms have gone up and been remembered in the sight of God.*⁴⁴

THE EXAMPLE OF CORNELIUS THE CENTURION

28. Did you see what assurance came from prayers and almsgiving to this man, whose whole life was spent in the cloak and belt of the soldier? Let them hear this who have enlisted in the army and let them learn that military service presents no hindrance to virtue for the man who is willing to be sober. Let them learn that a man can take great care of his virtue, even though he wears the soldier's cloak and belt, even though he has a wife, the care of children, the management of a household, and even though he has undertaken a public duty. Look at this admirable man, who wore the soldier's cloak and belt, who commanded troops, for he was a centurion! Of what care did heaven deem him worthy because of his good will, his sobriety, and his vigilance?

And that you may know clearly that grace wings its way down to us from on high only after we have first done our fair share, hear the story itself. After Cornelius had taken the first step by his frequent and generous almsgiving, he was devoting himself earnestly to prayer. About the ninth hour, the Scripture says, an angel stood beside him as he prayed and said: *Cornelius, thy prayers and thy alms have gone up and been remembered in the sight of God.*⁴⁵

29. Let us not simply pass these words by, but let us carefully consider the virtue of the man. Then let us learn how loving and kind the Master is and how He overlooks no one. But where He sees a soul that is sober, there He lavishes His grace upon him. Here is a soldier who has had benefit of no instruction, who was tangled up in the affairs of this life, who has each day a thousand things to distract

and to bother him. Yet he did not waste his life in banquets and drinking and gluttony, but spent his time in prayer and almsgiving. He showed such eagerness on his own initiative, he attended so constantly to prayer, he was so generous in his almsgiving, that he showed himself deserving of such a vision.

30. Where now are those who set the sumptuous tables, who poured their wine in abundance, who spent their days in banquets, often refusing even to offer a prayer before the feast and making no prayer of thanks when it was over?⁴⁶ They thought they could do anything without fear because they were in public service, because they were numbered in the military ranks, and because they wore the soldier's cloak and belt. Let them look at this man Cornelius and how he attended constantly to prayer; let them see his generosity in almsgiving; then let them hide their heads in shame.

31. But he will be a trustworthy teacher not only for the military but also for all of us, as well as for those who have chosen the monastic life⁴⁷ and those dedicated to the service of the Church. For who of us will ever be able to boast that he has been so constant in prayer or was so generous in almsgiving as to have deserved the vision granted to Cornelius? This is why I exhort you. Even if we have not done so before, let all of us who have enjoyed such great gifts, whether we be soldiers or civilians, let us all emulate Cornelius and do no less than he who manifested such virtue with his soldier's cloak and belt. If we shall do this, we will be able to keep in full bloom the beauty of this spiritual robe of ours, on the condition that we should be diligent in manifesting this combination of virtues.

32. If you are willing, let us add to them another combination of virtues which can contribute to protecting the incorruptibility of this garment—I mean the virtues of tem-

perance and holiness. *Strive for peace*, the Apostle says, *and that holiness without which no man will see God.*⁴⁸ Let us be careful, then, to pursue that holiness, searching our minds each hour that passes, and letting our souls receive no stain or blemish from wicked thoughts.

33. If we shall in this way cleanse our mind and with all earnestness pay attention to it, we will more easily win mastery over our other passions. In this way, little by little, we shall come to the summit of virtue. If we have already put aside from this source ample spiritual funds for our journey, we will be able to deserve those ineffable blessings that are dispensed to those who love Him. May it come to pass that we all obtain these by the grace and loving-kindness of our Lord Jesus Christ, with whom be to the Father and the Holy Spirit glory, power, and honor, now and forever, world without end. Amen.

THE EIGHTH INSTRUCTION

Address of Welcome and Praise to Those Who Have Come from the Neighboring Countryside. Discourse on the Topic That Whereas All the Just Who Have Received Visible Promises Have, in Place of the Visible Goods, Fixed Their Minds on the Invisible, We, on the Contrary, Who Have Received the Promise of Invisible Blessings, Gape in Wonder at the Visible. Also on the Theme That It Is Fitting Both Morning and Night to Hurry to the Church to Pray and Make Our Confessions of Faith. Final Exhortation to the Neophytes.¹

WELCOME AND PRAISE TO THOSE WHO HAVE COME FROM THE NEIGHBORING COUNTRYSIDE

1. During these last days your excellent teachers² have filled you well; you have enjoyed their constant spiritual exhortation, while sharing in the rich blessing which comes from the relics of the holy martyrs.³ But since the people who have this day streamed into our assembly from the country⁴ have made our gathering more brilliant, let us in return set before them a richer spiritual banquet⁵ filled with the same great love they have shown for us. Let us grant them this recompense and, matching their sentiment toward us, let us be eager to show them a rich hospitality. If they did not hesitate to make so long a journey to give us the great joy of their presence, it is all the more our duty to set before them today this spiritual nourishment, that they may take from it enough to sustain them on their homeward way.⁶

2. For they are our brothers and truly members of the

body of the Church.⁷ Let us embrace them, then, as members of our own body and show them in this way our genuine love for them. Let us not look to the fact that their speech is different from ours. Let us note carefully the true doctrine of their soul and not their barbarous tongue. Let us learn the intention of their heart and that they prove in deeds the things we, in our love of true doctrine, strive to teach by words. For they fulfil in deeds the precept of the Apostle, who bids us to get our daily bread by working with our hands.

3. For they heard Paul when he said: *And we toil, working with our own hands*⁸ And again: *These hands of mine have provided for my needs and those of my companions.*⁹ By striving to fulfil these precepts by the very work they do, they speak a language more eloquent than words and show by their actions that they deserve the blessing which comes from Christ. For He says: *Blessed is he who carries out [my commandments] and teaches [them].*¹⁰ For whenever the teaching of deeds leads the way, there is no longer any need for instruction by words. Yet you may see these men engaged in both. At one time they stand close beside the sacred altar reading the divine laws and instructing those who hear their words. At another, they toil over the tilling of the earth, as they drag the plough, cut furrows in the field, scatter their seeds, and entrust them to the bosom of the earth. At still another time they take in hand the plough of instruction and sow the seed of the divine teachings in the souls of their disciples.

4. Therefore, let us not look simply at their appearance and the language they speak, while we overlook the virtue of their lives. Let us observe carefully the angelic life they lead and the love of wisdom shown in their way of life.¹¹ They have driven out of their lives all soft and gluttonous self-indulgence. They have not only put these things aside but

also all the slack conduct commonly found in the cities.¹² They eat only as much as can suffice to sustain life, and all the rest of their time they occupy their minds in hymns and constant prayers, imitating in this the angels' way of life.

5. Just as those immaterial powers have for their one and only task to sing in every way the praises of the Creator of all things, so too these wonderful men support the needs of the body only because they are bound to the flesh, but all the rest of the time they devote to hymns and prayers. They have said a long farewell to the ostentation of the present life and, by the excellence of their conduct, they strive to lead their subjects to imitate them. Who could count them as blessed as they deserve to be counted blessed? They have no share in the world's teaching, but they have been taught the true wisdom and have shown in deeds the fulfilment of the Apostle's word: *The foolishness of God is wiser than men.*¹³

6. Here you see this simple rustic who knows nothing but farming and tilling the earth. Yet he takes no heed of the present life, but sends his thoughts winging to the good things that lie stored up in heaven, and he knows how to be wise about those ineffable blessings. He has exact knowledge of things which the philosophers who take pride in their beard and staff have never even been able to imagine.¹⁴ Can you fail to take this as a clear proof of God's power? From what other source could these simple folk have gotten their deep philosophy of virtue and their resolution to pay no heed to visible things, while they show their preference for the invisible and unseen things for which they hope, rather than for the things which they see with their eyes and hold in their hands? That man has faith who judges that what God has promised, even if unseen by our bodily eyes, is more deserving of belief than the things which are seen and lie before our eyes.¹⁵

PREFER SPIRITUAL GOODS: THE EXAMPLE OF ABRAHAM

7. In this way all the just men won their reputations and were deemed worthy of those ineffable blessings. Because of this the Master proclaimed that Abraham was just.¹⁶ He outran the weakness of his human nature and strained with his whole mind toward the power of Him who had made the promise. This is why Sacred Scripture says: *Abraham believed God, and it was credited to him as justice.*¹⁷ Therefore, when first he heard the command: *Go forth out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and out of thy father's house, and come into the land which I shall show thee,*¹⁸ he obeyed with great eagerness, did what was commanded, and left his own land where he had pitched his tent and went forth without knowing where he would stop. But he preferred what the Master had commanded to what was clear and commonly accepted. He neither questioned the command nor did he worry his mind about it. He looked to the dignity of Him who gave the command, overran all the human obstacles, and fixed his eyes on this one purpose: to leave nothing of what had been commanded undone.

8. God did not give this command for the sake of that just man alone nor to show forth how strong his faith was. He did it so that we might emulate that patriarch. For when God saw the good dispositions of Abraham and that the light of his soul was hidden like that of an unseen torch,¹⁹ He decided to remove him to Chanaan. There he might take those whose spirits were still blinded by the dark of ignorance and who were wandering in that land, and lead them to the path of virtue.²⁰ And indeed this did happen. Through Abraham not only those dwelling in Palestine but also those in Egypt thereafter came to know both the providence of God which was with Abraham and also the virtue of that just man.

Look at the boundless greatness of his soul! His yearning for God gave him wings, and he did not stop his flight with visible things, nor did he devote himself only to the seed which was promised to him, but fixed his thoughts on what was to come. For when God promised him a land in exchange for a land and said: *Go forth out of thy country and come into the land which I shall show you,*²¹ he abandoned the sensible things and let them go in exchange for the spiritual.

9. Do you think I have spoken to you in riddles? Do not be upset. Let me give you the solution, that you may know how the just man kept his yearning on spiritual things after he had been promised visible goods. How, then, shall we get exact knowledge of this? Let us hear Abraham himself, or rather, let us listen to the blessed Paul, the teacher of the whole world, who understood all these matters clearly when he spoke of Abraham and, with him, of all men who are just.²² When he wished one day to mention the list of just men like Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, he said: *In the way of faith all these died without receiving the promises, but beholding them afar off, and saluting them and acknowledging that they were pilgrims and strangers on earth.*²³

10. What do you mean, blessed Paul? Did they not get what was promised? Did they not possess the whole of Palestine? Did they not become lords of the land? Yes, he says, they received Palestine and possessed the land, but with the eyes of faith they kept their desire fixed on other things. Therefore, Paul went on to say: *For they who say these things show plainly that they seek a country of their own. And indeed, if they were thinking of the country from which they went out, they certainly would have had an opportunity to return; but as it is, they seek after a better, that is, a heavenly country.*²⁴ Did you see that for which they

yearned? Did you see what they desired? Although God was speaking of the earth and promising them visible goods on every side, did you see how they were reaching for and seeking a fatherland in heaven? This is why Paul added: *of which the architect and builder is God.*²⁵ Did you see how they kept yearning for spiritual goods and kept before their minds the things which cannot be seen by bodily eyes but are perceived by faith?

THE VANITY OF WORLDLY GOODS

11. But here my mind grows troubled and my thinking confused, when I consider that we are going in the opposite direction from all this. These just men received the promise of visible goods but kept their desire on the spiritual; we, who have received the promise of spiritual goods, become excited about visible things and fail to hear the blessed Paul when he says: *For the things that are seen are temporal, but the things that are not seen are eternal.*²⁶ And again, in another place, showing what kind of blessings God has made ready for those who love Him, he says: *goods which eye has not seen nor ear heard, nor has it entered into the heart of man.*²⁷

But, in spite of all this, we gape after the goods of this world, I mean wealth, the glory of this life, luxury, and the honors that men can confer. For these seem to be the things which make the present life bright. Seem, I said, because they are nothing but shadows and dreams.²⁸

12. For wealth itself often does not last till evening for those who thought to hold on to it, but, like a hardhearted runaway slave, it changes from one master to another, and sends off naked and deserted those who were so eager to treat it with all respect. The very experience of business affairs teaches everyone that wealth often takes those who have a

passion for it and surrounds them with dangers they cannot resist. Human glory is something like this, too. He who shines out brilliantly today and appears famous in the eyes of men suddenly falls into dishonor and everybody despises him.²⁹

13. What could be more worthless than these things? I mean those things which have vanished before they are seen, which never stand firm, but outstrip and escape those whose passions they arouse. You cannot see the wheel staying on the same part of its rim, but it is constantly turning and revolving up and down; no more can you see the wheel of fortune. Human fortunes turn quickly and reverse; their changes are swift; there is nothing steadfast, nothing fixed. Everything can easily be turned about and has a strong inclination to go in the opposite direction.³⁰ What, then, could be more ridiculous than the man who gapes after the goods of the present life to which he nails himself, and who judges that they are to be held in higher honor than the eternal things which abide forever?

14. This is why the prophet is vehement in accusing those who excite themselves over temporal goods. *They consider them as lasting*, he says, *and not as fleeting*.³¹ See how, in a single phrase, he wished to establish the nothingness of these things. He did not say "as passing," he did not say "as changing," he did not say "as slipping by." But what did he say? *As fleeting*, because he wished to point out their speed, their frequent and sudden changes. He also wished to instruct us never to cling to the visible things but to believe and trust only those things which are promised by God.

15. Even if ten thousand obstacles stand in the way, the promises of God cannot fail. Just as He is Himself unchangeable and immutable, and abides continuously and always, so too His promises are infallible and never change,

except if somehow we prevent them from coming to pass. But in human affairs the opposite is true. Just as man's nature is corruptible and subject to death, so also the gifts which come from man are corruptible and wither away. And this is as it should be, since all of us who are human are corruptible, and the nature of human gifts imitates the nature of human beings. We cannot suspect anything like this in the case of God's promises. His promises, and only His, endure and stand steadfast, fixed, and firm.³²

THE NEOPHYTE'S DAILY PROGRAM³³

16. I exhort you, therefore: let us seek the things which abide forever and never change. It was fitting, therefore, that I brought up this matter and that I exhorted all of you together, both those who have been initiated in the past and those who have just deserved the gift of baptism. On the days when we were continuously present at the tombs of the holy martyrs, we received an abundant blessing from those holy ones and enjoyed the rich benefit of their instruction. From now on, the continuity of our meetings will be broken off; hence, I must remind your loving assembly to keep ever ringing in your ears the memory of the important instruction those holy martyrs gave, and to hold spiritual things of greater importance than all the goods of this life.

17. And I urge you to show great zeal by gathering here in the church at dawn to make your prayers and confessions to the God of all things, and to thank Him for the gifts He has already given. Beseech Him to deign to lend you from now on His powerful aid in guarding this treasure; strengthened with this aid, let each one leave the church to take up his daily tasks, one hastening to work with his hands, another hurrying to his military post, and still another to his post in

the government. However, let each one approach his daily task with fear and anguish, and spend his working hours in the knowledge that at evening he should return here to the church, render an account to the Master of his whole day, and beg forgiveness for his falls. For even if we are on our guard ten thousand times a day, we cannot avoid making ourselves accountable for many and different faults. Either we say something at the wrong time, or we listen to idle talk, or we think indecent thoughts, or we fail to control our eyes, or we spend time in vain and idle things that have no connection with what we should be doing.

18. This is the reason why each evening we must beg pardon from the Master for all these faults.³⁴ This is why we must flee to the loving-kindness of God and make our appeal to Him. Then we must spend the hours of the night soberly, and in this way meet the confessions of the dawn. If each of us manages his own life in this way, he will be able to cross the sea of this life without danger and to deserve the loving-kindness of the Master. And when the hour for gathering in church summons him, let him hold this gathering and all spiritual things in higher regard than anything else.³⁵ In this way we shall manage the goods we have in our hands and keep them secure.

FINAL LESSON: TAKE CARE OF THE SOUL FIRST AND LEAVE OUR MATERIAL CARES TO GOD

19. If we give priority to the spiritual, we shall have no trouble with material things, since the loving-kindness of God provides us with abundant comfort in these matters.³⁶ But if we grow careless of the spiritual and are eager only for material things and, taking no account of the soul, we continually involve ourselves in what concerns our daily life, we lose

the spiritual things without gaining any greater wealth of material goods. I exhort you, therefore: let us not reverse the proper order.³⁷ Since we know how good our Master is, let us yield to Him in all things and let us not strain after what concerns this life. He who by His own loving-kindness brought us out of nothing into being will, after giving us being, be all the more careful to take every thought for our well-being. Our Lord said: *For your Father who is in heaven knows that you need all these things before you ask Him.*³⁸

20. This is why He wishes us to free ourselves from all concern for mundane things and to keep all our leisure time for what is spiritual. Seek the spiritual, He says, and I shall furnish all the material things in abundance. It was in this way that all the just men acquired their reputation for justice, and it was from their virtue that this discourse of mine began. I said that although they had received the promise of visible things, they sought those which were spiritual. We do just the opposite; we have the promise of spiritual things but we gape after those which the eye can see.

21. This is why I urge you. At least now that we are in God's love, let us imitate those men who outstripped others in reaching so lofty a peak of virtue. And they did this using their own resources and the teaching which lay in their own nature rather than in the written law. Let us, like them, transfer all our zeal to caring for our own soul. Let us exchange our concerns and distribute our anxieties. Let us accept the care of our own soul, since this is the most important thing we have. And let us give over to our common Master all cares and concerns for our body.

22. For the greatest proof of His wisdom and ineffable kindness is the fact that He entrusts to us the care of what is

more important in us—I mean the soul. He teaches us by the very way He does things that He has made us free and has left in our power and in our will either to choose virtue or to go of our own accord over to the side of evil. But He promises that He Himself will provide for all our bodily needs.³⁹ He wishes by this means to change human nature to the point where it neither relies on its own power nor thinks that it can make any contribution toward the maintenance of the present life.

23. This is why He spurs us, whom He has deemed worthy of such attention and whom He has endowed with reason, to imitate irrational creatures. *Look at the birds of the air*, He says. *They do not sow or reap, or gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feeds them.*⁴⁰ It is just as if He had said: If I take such thought for birds, who lack reason, that I provide all their needs without sowing and tilling, I shall take much greater care of you, who possess reason, if you should choose to hold the spiritual in higher honor than the things of the flesh. For I produced these and the whole creation for your sake, and if I take such care of them, shall I not think that you, for whom I produced all these things, deserve a greater care?

24. Let us be confident, then, in the promise of God. Let us strain our whole spirit to the desire for spiritual goods. Let us hold all things secondary to the enjoyment of the blessings of the future life. Thus we shall have an abundance of the present goods; thus we can deserve the good things which have been promised to us; thus can we deserve to be delivered from the punishments of hell. I beg you again not to waste the whole day in laxity, in senseless amusement, in harmful gatherings, in banquets and daily drinking. We must not let what we have carefully gathered slip away

because of our subsequent carelessness, but we must hold secure all the gifts that have been given to us by the loving-kindness of God.

25. And especially do I exhort you who have recently put on Christ and received the descent of the Spirit.⁴¹ Each day look to the luster of your garment, that it may never receive any spot or wrinkle, either by untimely words, or idle listening, or by evil thoughts, or by eyes which rush foolishly and without reason to see whatever goes on. Let us build a rampart about ourselves on every side and keep constantly before our minds that dread day,⁴² so that we may abide in our shining brightness, keep our garment of immortality unspotted and unstained, and deserve those ineffable gifts. May it come to pass that we all obtain those gifts by the grace and loving-kindness of our Lord Jesus Christ, with whom be to the Father and the Holy Spirit glory, power, and honor, now and always, forever and ever. Amen.

THE NINTH INSTRUCTION (Montf. 1 and PK 1)

To Those About to Be Baptized. Why It Is Called Bath of
Regeneration and Not the Bath of the Forgiveness of Sins.

That It Is Dangerous Not Only to Swear Falsely But
Also to Swear, Even If We Take a True Oath.¹

1. How I have loved and longed for² the throng of my new³ brethren! For I call you brothers even now before the hour of your birth, and I rejoice in the kinship between us, even though you have not yet been born. Since I know and well understand to what a great honor and into what a great realm you will be introduced, I will do what people generally do when a man is going to acquire ruling power. Such a man is held in honor by all who have an eye to storing up future good will for themselves by paying court to him even before he actually succeeds to power. Let me do that now, for you will not be introduced into some poor dominion, but into the kingdom itself; not merely into any kingdom, but into the very kingdom of heaven. Therefore, I beg and entreat you to remember me when you come into that kingdom.⁴

2. As Joseph said to Pharaoh's chief cupbearer: Remember me when it shall be well with thee,⁵ so I say to you: Remember me when it shall be well with you. I do not ask this, as Joseph did, as a recompense for interpreting a dream.⁶ I did not come to interpret dreams for you, but to describe the things of heaven and to bring the good tidings of such blessings as *eye has not seen nor ear heard, nor has it*

*entered into the heart of man.*⁷ Such are the things which God has prepared for those who love Him.⁸ Joseph said to the Egyptian cupbearer: *Yet three days and Pharaoh will restore thee to being his chief cupbearer;*⁹ I do not say to you: Yet three days and you shall become cupbearers of the king, but I say: Yet thirty days¹⁰ and not Pharaoh but the King of heaven will restore you to your true country above, to the free Jerusalem, to the city in Heaven. Joseph said: *You will give the cup into the hands of the Pharaoh;*¹¹ I do not say: You will give the cup into the hands of the King, but I say that the King Himself will give into your hand the terrible cup which is filled with abundant power and is more precious than any creature.

3. The initiated know the strength of this cup, and after a short while you too will know it.¹² Remember me, then, when you come into that kingdom, when you receive the royal robe,¹³ when you are clothed with the purple which has been dipped in the Master's blood, when you put on your heads the diadem whose luster leaps forth on every side with a brightness which rivals the rays of the sun. For such are the Bridegroom's gifts, greater than we deserve, but worthy of His loving-kindness.

ON THOSE WHO PUT OFF BAPTISM UNTIL THE HOUR OF DEATH

4. Therefore, I already count you blessed, even before you enter that sacred nuptial chamber.¹⁴ I not only count you blessed but I praise your good will,¹⁵ because, unlike men of laxity, you do not approach baptism at your final gasp. Like loyal servants who are ready to obey the Master with abundant good will, you now have shown great virtue and alacrity in submitting the neck of your soul to the yoke har-

ness, you have received the yoke which is good, and you have taken up the burden which is light.¹⁶

5. Even if the grace is the same for you and for those who are initiated on their deathbeds, neither the choice nor the preparations are the same.¹⁷ They receive baptism in their beds, but you receive it in the bosom of the common mother of us all, the Church;¹⁸ they receive baptism amidst laments and tears, but you are baptized with rejoicing and gladness; they are groaning, while you are giving thanks; their high fever leaves them in a stupor, while you are filled with an abundance of spiritual pleasure.

6. So in your case everything befits the gift, while in their case everything is opposed to it. For the dying man weeps and laments as he is baptized, his children stand about in tears, his wife mars her cheeks with her nails, his friends are downcast, his servants' eyes well with tears, and the whole house gives the appearance of a gloomy winter's day.

7. But if you unfold the heart of the dying man, you will find it more gloomy than those who stand about. Just as winds which blow against each other with great force from different directions split the sea into many waves, so also the thoughts of the dread things which encompass him fall upon the sick man's soul and split his mind into many cares. When he looks at his children, he thinks that they will be orphans; when he looks at his wife, he sees her a widow; when he looks at his servants, he thinks how his house will be deserted; when he returns to consider himself, he recalls the present life and, because he is going to be torn from it, he finds himself engulfed by a thick cloud of despondency. Such is the soul of him who is about to be initiated.

8. Then, in the midst of such tumult and confusion, the priest comes in, and his arrival is a greater source of fear than the fever itself and harder than death for the sick man's rela-

tives. When he enters, their despair is deeper than when the physician said he had given up all hope for the patient's life. Thus, he who is an argument for eternal life is seen as a symbol of death.

9. But I have not yet come to the summit of these evils.¹⁹ Oftentimes his soul leaps forth and deserts his body while the relatives are still raising a din and preparing themselves for his end, even though his soul brought no delight to many of them while it was still present in his body. When the man who is going to be baptized is unconscious and lies as inert as a log or stone, differing in no way from a corpse, when he does not recognize those who are present, nor hear what they say, when he cannot make the responses by which he will enter into the blessed contract with the common Master of us all, what benefit does he get from his initiation?²⁰

10. One who is about to approach those sacred rites and awesome mysteries ought to be alert and wide-awake, cleansed of every earthly care, abundantly filled with temperance and zeal. He should banish from his mind every thought which is foreign to the mysteries and should make his house clean and ready in every respect, just as if he were about to receive the emperor under his roof. That is the way to prepare your mind, such are the thoughts you should think, such should be the purpose of your will. Then look for the recompense you deserve from God for this excellent purpose, for He outdoes those who are ready to hear Him by the generous gifts He gives in return.²¹

11. Since fellow servants should contribute their fair share, we shall contribute ours; only what we contribute will not be ours but the Master's.²² For He says: *What hast thou that thou hast not received? And if thou hast received it, why dost thou boast as if thou hadst not received it?*²³ I wished to say this first of all. Why did our fathers pass over

the rest of the year and ordain that the children of the Church be initiated at this season? And why, after we have instructed you, do they remove your sandals and clothes and send you along barefoot and naked except for a single short garment, to hear the exorcists' words?²⁴ It is not without reason or purpose that they have ordained this dress and season, but both of these have a mystic and hidden reason, and I wished to explain this to you.²⁵ But I see that there is a reason which impels me to another and more necessary topic. For I must tell you what baptism is, why it has come into our lives, and how valuable are the blessings it brings.

BAPTISM IS THE BATH OF REGENERATION

12. If you are willing, let me first tell you the names we give to this mystic cleansing, for it does not have one name but is spoken of in many and varied ways. This cleansing is called the bath of regeneration.²⁶ *He saved us*, says St. Paul, *through the bath of regeneration and renewal by the Holy Spirit.*²⁷ It is also called an enlightenment,²⁸ and again it is St. Paul who calls it this. *But call to mind the days gone by, in which, after you had been enlightened, you endured a great conflict of sufferings.*²⁹ And again: *For it is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and who have tasted the heavenly gift and then have fallen away, to be renewed again to repentance.*³⁰ It is also called baptism.³¹ *For all you who have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ.*³² It is called a burial.³³ *For you were buried*, says St. Paul, *with Him by means of baptism into death.*³⁴ It is called a circumcision. *In Him, too, you have been circumcised with a circumcision not wrought by hand but through putting off the body of the sinful flesh.*³⁵ It is called a cross. *For our old*

*self has been crucified with Him, in order that the old body of sin may be destroyed.*³⁶

13. Many other names could be mentioned, but in order not to spend all the time on the various names of this gift of God's grace, let us now go back to the first of these names and finish our discussion of what it means. But first let us extend the scope of our instruction. The washing which is common to all men is that of the baths, which usually cleanses away the filth of the body. There is also the washing of the Jews, which is more solemn than that of the baths, but much inferior to the bath of grace. While this bath cleanses bodily filth, it does not merely remove the uncleanness of the body but also that which clings to a weak conscience.³⁷

14. There are many things which are not unclean by nature, but, because the conscience is weak, they become unclean. In the eyes of little boys, masks³⁸ and all the other hobgoblins which are not by nature frightening are seen as frightening by the little ones because of their natural weakness. So also in the case of the things I mentioned. For instance, to touch a corpse is not by nature unclean, but when it happens to a weak conscience, it makes unclean the one who touches the corpse. The very one who established the law, Moses, made it clear that to touch a corpse is not by nature an unclean act when he carried Joseph's body but remained clean.³⁹

15. And so Paul, speaking of this uncleanness which does not come from nature but from the weakness of conscience, went on to say: *Nothing is of itself unclean, except to him who regards something as unclean.*⁴⁰ Do you see that the uncleanness does not come from the nature of the thing but from the weakness of the mind? And again: *All things indeed are clean; but a thing is evil for the man who eats through scandal.*⁴¹ Do you see that not the eating but the eating through scandal is the cause of the uncleanness.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE BATH OF
THE JEWS AND BAPTISM

16. Such is the stain which was cleansed by the bath of the Jews. The bath of grace, however, does not remove such a stain but the real uncleanness of the body and the stain which has been put upon the soul. It makes clean not those who have touched dead bodies but those who have touched the deeds of death. Even if a man be effeminate, or an adulterer, or an idolater, or has done some dread deed, or dwells with all human wickedness, after he goes down into the bath of waters, he comes forth from the divine waters purer than the rays of the sun.⁴²

17. That you may not think that I speak in boast, listen to what Paul has to say of the power of this bath: *Do not err; neither idolaters nor fornicators, nor adulterers, nor the effeminate, nor sodomites, nor thieves, nor the covetous, nor drunkards, nor the evil-tongued, nor the greedy will possess the kingdom of God.*⁴³ And what, you may ask, does this have to do with what you said? Show proof of what we seek, namely, that the power of this bath cleanses all these sins. Listen, then, to the following verse, where Paul says: *And such were some of you, but you have been washed, you have been sanctified, you have been justified in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and in the spirit of our God.*⁴⁴

18. We promised to show you that those who enter this bath become cleansed of all fornication,⁴⁵ but our discourse has proved more, namely, that they not only are cleansed but become holy, too, and just. For Paul not only said: *you have been washed*, but also: *you have been sanctified, you have been justified*.

19. What could be more unexpected than that justification come to birth without labor or sweat or good works? For such is the loving-kindness of the divine gift that it makes

men just without their sweat.⁴⁶ If a letter from the emperor⁴⁷ consisting of a few words sets free men who are accountable on many charges, and even leads others to the highest honor, so much the more will the Holy Spirit of God, who can do all things, separate us from all evil, grant us abundant justification, and fill us with confidence. Just as a meteor which falls into the middle of the yawning sea immediately burns out and disappears when it plunges into the mass of waters, so too, when all human wickedness falls into the bath of divine waters, it is drowned and disappears more swiftly and easily than the meteor of which I spoke.

20. And why, someone will say, if the bath takes away all our sins, is it not called the bath of the remission of sins, or the bath of cleansing, rather than the bath of regeneration? The reason is that it does not simply remit our sins, nor does it simply cleanse us of our faults, but it does this just as if we were born anew. For it does create us anew and it fashions us again, not molding us from earth, but creating us from a different element, the nature of water.

BAPTISM COMPLETELY RENEWS OUR NATURE

21. This bath does not merely cleanse the vessel but melts the whole thing down again. Even if a vessel has been wiped off and carefully cleaned, it still has the marks of what it is and still bears the traces of the stain. But when it is thrown into the smelting furnace and is renewed by the flame, it puts aside all dross and, when it comes from the furnace, it gives forth the same sheen as newly-molded vessels.

22. When a man takes and melts down a gold statue which has become filthy with the filth of years and smoke and dirt and rust, he returns it to us all-clean and shining. So,

too, God takes this nature of ours when it is rusted with the rust of sin, when our faults have covered it with abundant soot, and when it has destroyed the beauty He put into it in the beginning, and He smelts it anew. He plunges it into the waters as into the smelting furnace and lets the grace of the Spirit fall on it instead of the flames.⁴⁸ Then He brings us forth from the furnace, renewed like newly-molded vessels, to rival the rays of the sun with our brightness. He has broken the old man to pieces but has produced a new man who shines brighter than the old.

23. The Psalmist of old hinted at this destruction and this mystic cleansing when he said: *Thou shalt break them in pieces like a potter's vessel.*⁴⁹ And that he is speaking of the faithful is made clear by what precedes, when he says: *Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give thee the nations for thy inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession.*⁵⁰ Did you see how he called to mind the Church of the Gentiles and spoke of the Church of Christ as reaching the whole world? Then he says again: *Thou shalt rule them with a rod of iron, not burdensome but strong, as if thou shalt break them in pieces like a potter's vessel.*⁵¹

24. Note that the bath is taken in a somewhat mystical sense; for he does not simply say a vessel made of clay but *a potter's vessel*. But note this well, for when a vessel of baked clay is broken to pieces, it could not be put together again because of the permanent hardness it has acquired from the fire. The potter's vessel, however, is not made of baked clay but of muddy clay. Consequently, if it has become distorted, it could be given another shape by the craftsman's skill.

25. When Holy Writ speaks of an irremediable disaster, it does not speak of the potter's vessel but of a terra-cotta one. For when God wished to teach his prophet and the Jews that

he had given over the city to irremediable destruction, he bade Jeremias to take a terra-cotta jar, to break it to pieces before all the people, and to say: *Even so will the city be destroyed and broken to pieces.*⁵²

26. But when God wished to extend hope to them, he led his prophet into a potter's workshop and showed him not a vessel of baked clay but one of muddy clay which had fallen from the potter's hands, saying: *If this potter took up the vessel which had fallen and brought it back into proportion again, will I not be all the more able to set you up aright again after you have fallen?*⁵³ It is possible for God not only to correct us through the bath of regeneration, since we are clay, but also after we have received the working of the Spirit and then have slipped, He can lead us back through sincere repentance to our former state.⁵⁴

THE TRAINING PROGRAM OF THE CATECHUMEN⁵⁵

27. But this is not the time for you to hear a discourse on repentance; rather, may the time never come when you have need of that remedy, but may you ever abide in and keep pure the beauty and luster you are about to receive. That you may always abide in it, let me say a few words to you about your conduct.

28. Blunders in this wrestling school are not fraught with danger for the athletes. The wrestling is with men from the same school, and they practice all their exercises with their own teachers.⁵⁶ But when the day of the games arrives, when the stadium is open, when the spectators are seated above the arena, and the judge of the contest is on hand, then must those who are slothful fall and leave the arena in deep disgrace, or be energetic and win the crowns and prizes.

29. So also for you, these thirty days are like the practice

and bodily exercises in some wrestling school.⁵⁷ Let us learn during these days how we may gain the advantage over that wicked demon. After baptism we are going to strip for the combat against him; he will be our opponent in the boxing bout and the fight. Let us learn, during this time of training, the grips he uses, the source of his wickedness, and how he can easily hurt us. Then, when the contest comes, we will not be caught unaware nor be frightened, as we would be if we were to see new wrestling tricks; because we have practiced among ourselves and have learned all his artifices, we will confidently join grips with him in the combat.

THE NUMBER AND ENORMITY OF SINS OF SPEECH

30. The devil tries to hurt us in every way, but especially through our tongues and mouths. He finds no instrument so suitable for deceiving and destroying us as an undisciplined tongue and a mouth that is never closed. From these sources come many disasters and grievous accusations against us.⁵⁸ An inspired writer has made it clear how easy it is to sin by the tongue when he said: *Many have fallen by the sword, but not so many as have perished by the tongue.*⁵⁹

31. And showing how serious this kind of sin is, the same inspired writer says again: *a slip from the pavement rather than a slip of the tongue.*⁶⁰ What he means is this: It is better, he says, to fall and shatter the body rather than utter such a word as destroys the soul. He not only speaks of the sin but he also exhorts us to take great care not to be tripped up when he says: *Make a door and bars for your mouth.*⁶¹ Of course, he did not literally mean we make ready doors and bars, but he did mean for us to be very careful to close our tongue off from absurd speech.

32. Another place in Scripture shows us that we need

help from on high to go along with our own earnestness and to bolster it, if we are to restrain this wild beast. Stretching forth his hands to God, the Psalmist said: *Let the lifting up of my hands be as an evening sacrifice. Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth and a door round about my lips.*⁶² And the other prophet, who gave the first warning to us, again says: *Who will set a guard before my mouth, and a clever seal upon my lips?*⁶³

33. Do you see that both prophets fear sins of the tongue and how they lament, counsel, and pray that we gain the benefit of a strong guard over our tongues? If this organ brings so much destruction, someone will ask, why did God put it in the human body in the beginning? Because it also has great usefulness. If we are careful, it brings only benefit and no harm.⁶⁴ Hear the words of the prophet who gave us advice before. *Death and life are in the power of the tongue*, he says.⁶⁵ And Christ makes the same point, when He says: *By thy words thou wilt be condemned, and by thy words thou wilt be justified.*⁶⁶

34. The tongue stands in the middle ready for either use; you are its master.⁶⁷ So also does a sword lie in the middle; if you use it against the enemy, it becomes an instrument for your safety; if you use it to wound yourself, it is not the steel but your own transgression of the law which causes your death. Let us think of the tongue in the same way, as a sword lying in the middle. Sharpen it to accuse yourself of your own sins, but do not use it to wound your brother.

35. Hence, God has surrounded the tongue with a double wall—with the barrier of the teeth and the fence of the lips—in order that it may not easily and heedlessly utter words it should not speak. Keep it curbed within your mouth. Suppose it does not stand for this treatment. Punish it with the teeth just as if you were giving its body over to the

public executioner to be bitten. For it is better that it be bitten now when it sins than that hereafter, when it is parched and seeking a drop of water, it be deprived of that consolation.⁶⁸

AGAINST THE HABIT OF SWEARING⁶⁹

36. The tongue is in the habit of committing many sins of different kinds: abuse, blasphemy, obscene speech, slander, oaths, and perjury. I do not wish to overwhelm your minds today by enumerating all the sins of the tongue at one time. Therefore, I set down for now just one law—that you be on your guard against swearing.

37. I tell you now and declare to you that I shall not speak to you of any other subject, unless you avoid not only perjury but also oaths which you are justified in swearing. Schoolteachers do not give their pupils the next lesson until they see that the preceding one is firmly fixed in the students' minds. It would be foolish, then, for me to bring up other lessons when you are not yet able to recite the ones previously given. This would be like drawing water in a leaky jar.⁷⁰

38. Take great care of this matter, then, that you may not curb my tongue from giving further instructions. Swearing is a serious sin, a very serious sin.⁷¹ It is very serious because it does not seem to be serious, and I am afraid of it because nobody is afraid of it. Disease is incurable precisely when it does not seem to be a disease. Merely to speak is not a crime; so swearing does not seem to be a crime, and people feel quite free to venture on this lawless path. If anyone censure them for this practice, immediately they laugh and jeer, not because he censures them for their oaths, but because he wishes to cure the disease. Therefore, let me speak at length on this

matter, because I wish to tear this habit out by its roots, which are deep, and to wipe out this evil which has long endured.⁷²

39. I do not speak only of perjured oaths but even of true oaths.⁷³ But, someone says, So-and-so is a good man and a priest and lives a life of temperance and piety. (Yet he swears oaths.)⁷⁴ Do not speak to me of that good, temperate, pious priest! Let it be, if you wish, Peter or Paul or even an angel who has come down from heaven. Not even in such cases do I regard the dignity of persons. I do not recognize the law of any servant in the matter of oaths, but only the King's law.

40. When we read what the King has written, let His servant, however high his office, be silent. If you can tell me that Christ commanded us to swear, or that Christ did not punish the one who did so, prove it to me and I yield the point. But if He is so careful to keep us from this practice and takes such precautions against it as to put the man who swears alongside the devil—*Whatever is beyond "yes" and "no" comes from the evil one*⁷⁵—why do you bring up the case of this man or that man? God will not acquit you because of the negligence of your fellow servants, but He will judge you according to the precept of His laws.

41. If He has commanded it, we must obey and must not use this or that man as an excuse, nor meddle with the evil deeds of other people.⁷⁶ Tell me, is there no danger for us in sinning because the great David fell into serious sin? This is all the more reason why we must be on our guard and emulate only the good deeds of the holy ones. If we find negligence or transgression of the law anywhere, we must show great zeal in fleeing it. Our account is rendered not to our fellow servants, but to the Master, and we will submit to Him our whole lives for examination. Let us prepare, therefore, for that court of justice. Even if a man be ten thousand times over wonderful and great, if he transgresses the law of

God, he will pay the penalty which is fixed for this transgression, for *God is no respecter of persons.*⁷⁷

HOW TO AVOID SWEARING

42. How, then, and by what means is it possible to avoid this sin? For indeed I must not only point out how serious a sin it is, but I must also counsel you on how we can free ourselves from it. Do you have a wife, a servant, children, a friend, a relative, a neighbor? Enlist their aid in helping you guard against these sins.⁷⁸ Habit is a difficult thing; it is hard to break and hard to avoid. It often assails us against our will and without our knowledge.

43. Therefore, the better you understand the power of a habit, the greater should be your eagerness to be rid of a bad habit, and the more ready should you be to change over to a good one. Just as that bad habit of swearing is able to trip you up even when you are eagerly guarding against it and being careful to heed its danger, so, if you change over to the good habit of not swearing, you will never be able to fall into the sin of swearing through negligence or against your will.

44. Habit is truly a great thing and has the force of a nature. That we may not be in constant trouble, let us change over to another habit. Ask each of those with whom you live and deal to do you the favor of counseling and urging you to avoid oaths and of reproaching you when they catch you swearing.⁷⁹ And the guard they keep over you also serves to advise and exhort them to act rightly themselves. A man who reproaches another for swearing will not readily fall himself into that pit of ruin.

45. And the habit of swearing is no small pit of ruin, not only when the oaths are sworn in insignificant matters but also in matters of importance. Whether we are buying

vegetables and arguing over two obols or are threatening our servants in our anger, we always call God as our witness.⁸⁰ For such small matters you would not have dared to call a free man, even one of no great dignity, to be your witness in the market place.⁸¹ If you ever try to do so, you will pay the penalty for your insult. But when you are talking about goods for sale and money and insignificant things, you drag in the King of heaven and Lord of angels to be your witness.

46. And how can this be endured? How can we free ourselves from this wicked habit? We can do it by stationing about us those guards whom I mentioned, by fixing a time limit for correcting our fault,⁸² and by imposing a penalty if we have not corrected it within that time. How much time will that take? If you live very soberly, if you are extremely vigilant and intent on your own salvation, I do not think it will take more than ten days to set yourselves completely free from the wicked habit of swearing. But if, after the ten days, we should find ourselves still swearing, let us impose a penalty on ourselves and let us fix a really great punishment and sentence for our transgression. What, then, is the sentence? I shall not fix that, but I enjoin you yourselves to decide on the reckoning.

47. This is the fashion in which I would manage the situation which concerns us, not only in the matter of oaths but also in our other shortcomings. Let us fix a time for ourselves for the most severe penalties if we fall into these sins again, and we shall come with clean hands to our Master. We shall free ourselves from the Gehenna of fire and shall stand confidently before the tribunal of Christ. May all of us attain this by the grace and loving-kindness of our Lord Jesus Christ, with whom be glory to the Father and the Holy Spirit forever and ever. Amen.

THE TENTH INSTRUCTION (Papadopoulos-Kerameus 2)

Although the Previous Catechesis Spoke about Swearing, This Instruction Is on the Same Subject, Showing That Not Only Swearing Falsely But Even Swearing Truly Has Its Punishment, and That It Was Fitting for Christ to Rise from the Dead after Three Days.¹

1. Did you drive out of your mouths the evil habit of oaths?² I have forgotten neither what I said to you nor what you promised me on this matter.³ And indeed I did speak and you did make a promise; even if you did not say it in so many words, you did promise by your approval of what I said. This promise is greater than a promise made in actual speech, because he who has given voice to a promise often gives assent with his tongue but not with his mind; he who approves of what I said, however, gives his assent from his soul.

2. Did you cleanse your tongue of this grievous stain? Did you banish the disgrace from your holy souls?⁴ My conjecture is that you have made yourselves clean, for you are about to receive a great King and to derive abundant spiritual profit from the instruction of fathers who are truly wise.⁵ The time is sufficient and the period given for amending our fault is, at last, close to its end.⁶ Also, you are docile and obedient. *Obey your superiors and be subject to them,*⁷ says the Apostle Paul, and hearken to them in all things. Basing my conjecture on all these things, I believe that everything has been set straight. Yet, I did not wish to conjecture or believe so much as I wished to know this for certain. If I

had been sure, I would have shown greater eagerness to cling to discourses more closely related to the mysteries and to put aside my concern about oaths. I would have felt more secure in leading you by the hand to this awe-inspiring initiation, I would have led you into the sanctuary itself, I would have shown you the holy of holies and all therein—a vessel holding not manna but the body of the Master, the bread of heaven.⁸ I would have shown you not a wooden chest holding the stone tablets of the law, but one holding the blameless and holy flesh of the Lawgiver. I would have shown you within it not an unblemished lamb slain in sacrifice, but the Lamb of God who is offered in the mystic sacrifice upon which the very angels look and tremble. I would have shown you not Aaron entering with golden raiment,⁹ but the Only-begotten as He enters heaven with the first fruits of our nature¹⁰ and shows to the Father Himself the magnitude of His success, as St. Paul says: *For Christ has not entered into a holy made by hands, a mere copy of the true, but into heaven itself, to appear now before the face of God.*¹¹ Here we have no such veil as the Jewish Temple had, but one which inspires a much deeper religious awe. Listen, then, and hear what kind of veil this is, that you may know what kind of holy of holies the Temple had and what kind is this holy of holies of ours.¹² St. Paul says: *Having much confidence to enter the holies in virtue of the blood of Christ, a new and living way which He inaugurated for us through the veil (that is, His flesh).*¹³ Did you see how much deeper is the religious awe inspired by this veil than by the veil of the Temple? Therefore, I wished to initiate you in all these matters today.

3. But what is happening to me? My concern over your oaths—a concern that makes my soul waste away—does not let me go. And I know that many of you condemn the

excess in my language, because you heard me say that my concern makes my soul waste away. This is because they consider that swearing is a small sin, and on this account I lament all the more. Although other sins are grievous and are considered grievous, as, for example, murder and adultery are grievous and considered such, yet swearing is a grievous sin but it is not considered to be such.¹⁴ On this account I lament and fear this sin, for it is a characteristic of the craft of the devil to bring in a sin with its face veiled. Just as if he had mixed a lethal poison into a familiar food, so he contrives to conceal swearing in men's preconception that oaths are harmless.

4. What, then? Shall we spend the whole instruction and time on the matter of swearing? By no means! For I even imagine that some have corrected this habit. When the sower went forth, not every seed fell among thorns, nor upon rocks, but many a seed carried to good ground.¹⁵ So also in your case, it is impossible that there is no one in so large a throng who can show the fruit of such teaching as you have received. Since many have corrected the fault—although all have not yet done so—let us too divide our discourse. For there is no need for those who have failed to correct this fault to hear the whole of my sermon of initiation.¹⁶ But in order that those who have corrected the fault may not be abused and mistreated, let us show indulgence to the more lax for the sake of the more zealous.¹⁷ For it is much better to indulge the lax for the sake of the zealous than to abuse and mistreat the zealous because of the lax.

THE SEASON OF BAPTISM

5. I wish to remind you of a matter which I promised in my last discourse but I failed to fulfil because my instruction

urged me to more necessary matters. What was that? I was seeking to tell you why our fathers passed by all the other seasons of the year and ordained that your souls be initiated during this season, and I said that observance of the time was not a simple or random thing.¹⁸ For it is always the same grace and it is not hindered by the season, for the grace is from God.¹⁹ But the observance of the proper season does have some connection with the mystery of initiation.²⁰ Why did our fathers ordain this feast at this time? Our King has now conquered in the war against the barbarians. And all the demons are barbarians, and more savage than barbarians. Now He has destroyed sin, now He has put down death and has subjected the devil, He has taken His captives.

6. And so it is that on this day we celebrate the memory of those victories, and on this account our fathers ordained that the King's gifts be distributed at this time, for this is the custom of conquerors. The kings of foreign nations do this and count the days of the triumphal celebration deserving of many honors. But their kind of honor is rife with dishonor. For what kind of honor is there in spectacles and in what is said and done there? Are these spectacles not filled in every way with shame and loud laughter?²¹

7. But the honor of this season is worthy of the munificence of Him who gives this honor. Therefore, our fathers ordained the celebration of this season first in order to remind you of the Master by the season of His victory, and then that there might be, in the triumphal celebration, some who are wearing shining robes and who are about to receive a reward from the King. This was not their only reason. Our fathers also ordained this celebration in order that you might also be the Master's partner throughout the season. St. Paul says: *He was crucified on the wood.*²² Be crucified yourself through your baptism. For, he says, baptism is a cross and a death.

BAPTISM IS A CROSS, DEATH, AND RESURRECTION²³

8. Listen, then, to what St. Paul says and how he speaks of baptism as both the death of sin and the cross. *Do you not know that all you who have been baptized into Christ, have been baptized into His death?*²⁴ And again: *Our old self has been crucified with Him, in order that the body of sin may be destroyed.*²⁵ That you may not be frightened when you hear the words "death" and "cross," St. Paul added that the cross is the death of sin.

9. Did you see how baptism is a cross? Learn that even Christ called baptism the cross when He used the name of baptism interchangeably [with that of the cross].²⁶ He called your baptism a cross. "I call my baptism a cross," he says. Where does He say this? *I have a baptism to be baptized with, of which you do not know.*²⁷ And how is it clear that He is speaking of the cross? The sons of Zebedee came up to Him—rather, *the mother of the sons of Zebedee*,²⁸ saying: *Command that these my two sons may sit, one at thy right hand and one at thy left hand, in thy kingdom.*²⁹ A mother's request, even if it was an inconsiderate one! How, then, did Christ answer? *Can you drink of the cup of which I am about to drink, and be baptized with the baptism with which I am baptized?*³⁰ You see that He called the cross a baptism. How is this clear? *Can you drink*, He says, *of the cup of which I am about to drink?*³¹ He calls His passion a cup and on this account He says: *Father, if it is possible, let this cup pass away from me.*³² Did you see how He called the cross a baptism and the passion a cup?

10. He did not speak of them in this way because He Himself was washed clean—how could *He who did no sin, neither was deceit in His mouth?*³³—but because the blood which flowed from the passion and cross washed the whole world clean.³⁴ Hence, St. Paul also says: *For if we have*

*been united with Him in the likeness of His death through baptism.*³⁵ He did not say "in death" but "in the likeness of His death." For both the first and the second are death, but not the death of the same thing: the first is the death of the body; the second is the death of sin. Hence, it is the "likeness of death."³⁶

11. What about this, then? Are we only dying with the Master and are we only sharing in His sadness? Most of all, let me say that sharing the Master's death is no sadness. Only wait a little and you shall see yourself sharing in His benefits.³⁷ *For if we have died with Him,* says St. Paul, *we believe that we shall also live together with Him.*³⁸ For in baptism there are both burial and resurrection together at the same time. He who is baptized puts off the old man, takes the new, and rises up, *just as Christ has arisen through the glory of the Father.*³⁹ Do you see how, again, St. Paul calls baptism a resurrection?

WHY CHRIST SPENT THREE DAYS IN THE TOMB

12. But why are our death, burial, and resurrection all at the same time, for we do arise at the same moment that we are buried,⁴⁰ whereas our Master's resurrection was delayed? He arose after three days. Why, then, does our resurrection come at once and His come more slowly? The truth is that He did so to help us to understand that weakness is not the reason for the delay. Surely He who could make His servant arise⁴¹ in an instant of time was all the more able to raise up Himself. Why, then, the delay? Why the three days in the tomb? So that the fact of His resurrection after a death which was slow in coming might, because of this delay, be established by a proof beyond all dispute. Even now, after such strong proof, there are men who say that He only ap-

peared to suffer.⁴² What would these men have said if there had not been such a delay in His resurrection? For the devil wished to plot not only against the story of the resurrection but also against the belief that He had died.⁴³ For the devil knew, and knew clearly, that the Saviour's death was the common remedy for the whole world,⁴⁴ and he was eager to remove this from the faith of men, in order that he might destroy salvation.

13. Therefore, the Master was slow in rising again, and the Jews came, saying: *Give us soldiers, that we may guard the tomb.*⁴⁵ What shamelessness! Did you ever see, O Jew, a guarded corpse? For if He who was crucified were a common corpse and a naked man, why are you doing these strange and unusual things? Why are you afraid, why do you tremble and lead forth guards? However, God did not prevent this, for He allowed the tomb to be guarded, in order that the sinner might be caught by the deeds of his own hands. For they said: *Give us soldiers, so that the disciples may not steal Him and say that He has risen.*⁴⁶ But the opposite happened. For they took the soldiers, and hence, after He had risen, they could not say that the disciples had stolen Him and that He had not risen. So the arguments fabricated against the resurrection became arguments in its favor. Christ made the very ones who plotted against Him witnesses for His resurrection and thus destroyed the defense which they made ready on that day.⁴⁷

EXORCISM

14. I think that what I have said has offered a sufficient explanation as to why our fathers bade that the initiation take place at this time. But I also wish to present another matter to you—unless your ears have grown weary—and to tell you

why we send you from here, without garments or shoes, to hear the words of the exorcists.⁴⁸ For there, too, the same reason⁴⁹ will again appear: the King has conquered in the battle and has taken captives. And captives go naked and unshod.⁵⁰ Hear, at least, what God says to the Jews: *As my child Isaias walked, naked and barefoot, so shall the sons of Israel walk into captivity naked and barefoot.*⁵¹ He wishes, therefore, to remind you by your appearance that the devil held sway over you, and He brings you to the recollection of how lowly born you were before regeneration. Hence, you not only stand naked and unshod, but you even stand with upturned⁵² hands to confess God's future sovereignty to which you now draw near. You are all the spoils and booty of war. Isaias mentioned these spoils long ago, before the release from troubles, when he prophesied as follows: *He shall divide the spoils of the strong.*⁵³ And again: *He came to proclaim a release to the captives.*⁵⁴ But David, as well as Isaias, explained this captivity and said: *Thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led the captives.*⁵⁵

15. But be not gloomy when you hear the word "captivity," for nothing is more blessed than this captivity. The captivity of men leads one from freedom to slavery, but this captivity changes slavery into freedom. Furthermore, the captivity of men deprives one of his fatherland and leads him to foreign soil; this captivity drives one forth from foreign soil and leads him to his homeland, the heavenly Jerusalem. The captivity of men bereaves one of his mother; this captivity leads you to the common mother of us all.⁵⁶ That captivity separates you from kinsmen and fellow citizens; this one leads you to the citizens above, for St. Paul says: *You are citizens with the saints.*⁵⁷ This, then, is the reason why you appear naked and unshod.

16. But why do the words of the exorcists—those

frightening and horrible words—recall to your memory the Master of us all, the punishment, the vengeance, the fires of hell?⁵⁸ Because of the shamelessness of the demons. For the catechumen is a sheep without a seal; he is a deserted inn and a hostel without a door, which lies open to all without distinction; he is a lair for robbers, a refuge for wild beasts, a dwelling place for demons. And yet, our Master decreed that through His loving-kindness this deserted, doorless inn, this robbers' refuge, should become a royal palace. On this account He sent us, your teachers, and those exorcists to prepare the inn beforehand.⁵⁹ And by our instruction, we who teach you are making strong and secure the walls of the inn, which were weak and unsound.

17. *Everyone, Christ says, who hears these my words and acts upon them, shall be likened to a wise man who built his house on rock.*⁶⁰ Let us lay foundations which are safe until the King will be near. If we see any filth or mire, let us drain it off. Such is the habit of sin—foul and filthy. Hear, then, how David describes its nature: *Like a heavy burden, [my sins] weigh me down exceedingly. My sores grow fetid, they fester because of my folly.*⁶¹ We, on the one hand, drain off the stench and set forth the unguent of the Spirit; on the other, the exorcists, by those frightening words, see to it that there is no wild beast there, no serpent, no viper, no scorpion. Even if the beast be savage, once he hears that dread formula [of exorcism], he can neither slink away nor lurk in his den, but even against his will he makes off and runs away.⁶²

SWEARING AGAIN

18. I wished to speak also on this other matter—although I made no promise to do so.⁶³ But I must tell you why we are called the faithful, whereas the uninitiated are called cate-

chumens. It is truly disgraceful and ridiculous for one who receives an honor not to know the name by which the honor is called. But what is happening to me? My anxiety over your swearing has come upon me again and has charged me with sloth and draws my discourse back to that topic.⁶⁴ Therefore, let us put off until the next instruction⁶⁵ the discussion of the names of faithful and catechumens and turn ourselves now to my advice and counsel on the matter of swearing. Swearing is a dreadful and harmful thing; it is a destructive drug, a bane and a danger, a hidden wound, a sore unseen, an obscure ulcer spreading its poison in the soul; it is an arrow of Satan, a flaming javelin, a two-edged sword, a sharp-honed scimitar, an unpardonable sin, an indefensible transgression, a deep gulf, a precipitous crag, a strong trap, a taut-stretched net, a fetter that cannot be broken, a noose from which no one escapes.

19. Are these enough, and do you believe that swearing is a dreadful thing and the most harmful of all sins? Believe me, I beg you, believe me! But if someone does not believe me, I now offer proof. This sin has what no other sin possesses. If we do not violate the other commandments, we escape punishment; on the other hand, in the matter of oaths, we are punished just the same both when we guard against transgressing and when we transgress.

20. Did you, perhaps, fail to understand what I said? Then I must repeat it more plainly. Oftentimes a person has sworn to do an unlawful deed and thus has fallen into a trap from which there is no escape. For he must in the future either keep his oath and do the illegal deed, or fail to keep his oath and be caught in the charge of swearing falsely. On each side is a precipitous cliff, on each side is inevitable death both for those who keep the commandment and for those who

fail.⁶⁶ Is there anything more destructive than this sin, whether the commandment be kept or broken?

HEROD'S OATH AND ITS RESULTS⁶⁷

21. And that you may know that this is so and that many a man, not only when he has broken his oath but even when he keeps it, often has made himself liable to punishment, I shall tell you the following story.⁶⁸ Herod once was holding a birthday feast and observing the anniversary of his birth. Wishing to make this a splendid day, he brought in the daughter of the queen to dance. What he failed to realize was that, instead of making it splendid, he was disgracing the day. On that day he ought to have given thanks to God in His loving-kindness because He made him from nothing, because He gave him a soul, because He brought him into this holy theater of the universe, because He made him a spectator of this most beautiful and wonderful creation; he ought to have honored the day with hymns and thankfulness to the Master, but he honored it with dishonor. For what is more dishonorable than dancing?

22. On that day the daughter of Herodias danced. Listen, you men and women who celebrate your own greatest days with such dances and songs.⁶⁹ These are no small evils, even though they seem to be neither good nor bad; it is because they seem to be neither good nor bad that they are great evils. Since they seem insignificant, they do not benefit from a great deal of care and forethought. A serious illness receives care and is cured, but a malady which seems to be insignificant is looked on with scorn and becomes serious.⁷⁰ What are you saying? Does someone have the boldness to bring dancing into the house of one of the faithful,⁷¹ and is

he not afraid that a thunderbolt will sweep down from above to consume all things with its flames?⁷² I say this also to the women, that they may also correct the men and lead them away from such pleasure.

23. On that day the daughter of the queen came in and danced. Blessed be God! How great is the temperance to which He has turned our lives! Hear, you who believe, to what manner of bridegroom you are coming, one who has taken our lives, which were heretofore unseemly, and has adorned them with modesty, temperance, and dignity. What the princess was not then ashamed to do, now the meanest servant girl would not choose to endure.

24. So the princess danced and, after the dance, committed another more serious sin. For she persuaded that senseless man to promise with an oath to give her whatever she might ask. Do you see that swearing also makes men senseless? Wherefore, if she but ask, he swore to give it. What, then, if she were to have asked for *your* head, Herod? What if she were to have asked for your *whole* kingdom? Yet he took thought of none of these things. The devil had set his trap, making it strong, and from the moment the oath was complete, he both cast his snares and stretched his net on every side. Then he added that request, in order that there might be no escape from the situation. *Give me*, the princess said, *the head of John the Baptist on a dish.*⁷³ The request was disgraceful, the gift senseless and harmful; the oath was the cause of both.

25. What ought he have done? You remember what I said. Whether we keep the commandment or violate it, we are punished all the same. Should he have given her the prophet's head? The punishment was intolerable. Should he not have given it? He will be charged with swearing falsely. Did you see how there is a precipice on either side?

26. *Give me here on a dish the head of John the Baptist,*⁷⁴ she said. The request was abominable, but she persuaded him, and he gave the order to curb John's holy tongue. But even up to now it speaks out, for each day, or rather in every church, you hear John crying aloud through the Gospels and saying: *It is not lawful for thee to have the wife of thy brother Philip.*⁷⁵ He cut off the head but he did not cut off the voice; he curbed the tongue but he did not curb the accusation.⁷⁶

27. Do you see what swearing does? It cuts off the heads of prophets. You saw the bait; dread, then, the ruin it brings. You saw the net; do not fall into it. You must in the future be careful that the wound does not become deeper; you must in the future hold back your hand with its bloodstained sword; you must be silent and keep your tongue away from the wounds of perjury. You will never commit the sin of swearing if you will remember that, whether you keep or violate your oath, you are punished just the same.⁷⁷

28. Where, now, are those who say: Suppose I swear justly? How is this just when the law is transgressed? How is this just when God forbids it, but you do it?⁷⁸ But the fact is that you will bear with us later, when we bind up your wounds, for even the bandage is not without pain.

29. The punishment both for swearing falsely and for swearing truly was severe even before I instructed you; now that I have instructed you, it is still more severe. Christ said: *If I had not come and spoken to them, they would have no sin. But now they have no excuse for their sin.*⁷⁹ In your case I can say this too, because in the future you will have no excuse for your transgressions. If baptism find oaths falsely or truly sworn, if it find fornication or adultery, if it find the fulness of evil, it carefully washes them away and makes the soul perfectly clean.

30. May you henceforth keep watch over this cleanness of soul, getting rid of every stain, and may we be able to share in your confidence through your prayers. And pray you can for your teachers in the future, for soon you are going to shine forth for us with a brilliance more radiant than the very stars.⁸⁰ May we all, then, through your prayers share in your confidence before the tribunal of Christ, through whom and with whom be glory to the Father together with the Holy Spirit now and forever, world without end. Amen.

THE ELEVENTH INSTRUCTION (Papadopoulos-Kerameus 3)

The Last Instruction to Those About to Be Baptized¹

1. Today² is the last day for your instruction.³ And I, the last of all men, have come to my last instruction. I have come as the last to tell you that after two days the Bridegroom is coming. Arise, kindle your lamps, and by their shining light receive you the King of heaven. Arise and keep watch. For not during the day but in the middle of the night the Bridegroom comes to you.⁴ This is the custom for the bridal procession—to give over the brides to their bridegrooms late in the evening.⁵

2. When you hear: *Behold, the Bridegroom is coming,*⁶ be sure that you heed these words, for they are truly great and filled with an abundance of loving-kindness. He did not command human nature to come to Him, but He came to us; for it is the custom in marriage that the bridegroom come to the bride, even if he be extremely wealthy and she be a worthless outcast.⁷

3. But in the case of human beings it is not strange that this is so. For even if the difference in rank be considerable, there is no difference in nature; even if the bridegroom be rich and the bride a poor beggar, both have the same nature. But in the case of Christ and the Church the marvel is that, being God and possessed of that blessed and undefiled nature—and you know how great is the distance between God and men—He deigned to come to our nature.⁸ He put aside His Father's home in heaven and, not by passing from one place to another but according to a plan whereby He took to Him-

self a body, He has hastened to His bride.⁹ The blessed Paul himself knew this; marveling at the excess of Christ's care for us and the honor which He bestowed on us, Paul cried aloud and said: *For this reason a man shall leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife. This is a great mystery—I mean in reference to Christ and to the Church.*¹⁰

4. And why is it marvelous that He came to His bride, although she did not beg Him to lay down His life for her? Surely, no bridegroom lays down his life for his bride. For no one, no lover, even if he be violently mad, is so inflamed with his loved one as is God in His desire for the salvation of our souls. "Even if I must be spat upon, even if I must be struck, even if I must mount the very cross, I shall not beg off from being crucified, so that I may take my bride," He says.¹¹

5. Nor did He suffer and endure these torments because He marveled at her beauty. Heretofore nothing was more shameful, nothing less pleasing, than she. Hear how Paul describes her ugliness and shame: *For we ourselves also were once unwise, unbelieving, going astray, slaves to various lusts and pleasures, hateful and hating one another.*¹²

THE GARB OF THE BRIDE

6. So great is the excess of our wickedness that we hate one another.¹³ Yet God did not hate us, although we hated each other, but He took us in the depths of our shame, in the ugliness of our souls, and saved us. He came to her who was about to become His bride and found her naked and disgracing herself.¹⁴ He threw around her a clean robe, whose brightness and glory no word or mind will be able to describe.¹⁵

7. How shall I say it? He has thrown Himself around

us as a garment: *For all you who have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ.*¹⁶ When David saw this garment from afar with his prophetic eyes, he cried aloud and said: *The queen stood on thy right hand.*¹⁷ Suddenly the beggar and outcast has become a queen and stands beside the King.¹⁸ And the prophet shows Christ and the Church as Bridegroom and bride standing in the holy bridal chamber *in gilded clothing surrounded with variety.*¹⁹ Behold, even the garment has told you.

8. Then, in order that you might not hear of the gold and fall into the perception of sensible things, David leads your understanding upward and brings it to the vision of intelligible things when he goes on to say: *All the glory of the King's daughter is within.*²⁰

9. Do you wish to see her sandals too? They are not sewn from tangible material nor have they been put together from ordinary leather, but they are fashioned from the gospel and peace. He says: *Have your feet shod with the readiness of the gospel of peace.*²¹ Do you wish me to show you the very vision of the bride flashing forth with irresistible beauty,²² surrounded by a large throng of angels and arch-angels? Let us take the hand of Paul, who leads the bride to her Bridegroom; he will be able to cut through the throng and lead us to her side. What, then, does Paul say? *Husbands, love your wives, just as Christ also loved the Church and delivered Himself up for her, that He might sanctify her, cleansing her in the bath of water by means of the word.*²³

10. Did you see the bride's body bright and shining? Did you see her beauty which flashes forth beyond the rays of the sun? And then he goes on to say: *That she might be holy and without blemish, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing.*²⁴ Did you see the very flower of youth, the very peak of life in its prime? Do you wish to know what this

bride is called? She is called faithful and a saint. For the Apostle says: *Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ, to the saints who are at Ephesus and the faithful in Christ Jesus.*²⁵

THE NAME OF FAITHFUL

11. But when I heard the name of the bride, I remembered an old debt. I promised to tell you why we are called the faithful.²⁶ Why, then, are we called this? We faithful have believed in things which our bodily eyes cannot see. These things are great and frightening and go beyond our nature. Neither reflection nor human reason will be able to discover and explain these things; only the teaching of faith understands them well. Therefore, God has made for us two kinds of eyes: those of the flesh and those of faith.²⁷

12. When you come to the sacred initiation, the eyes of the flesh see water; the eyes of faith behold the Spirit.²⁸ Those eyes see the body being baptized; these see the old man being buried. The eyes of the flesh see the flesh being washed; the eyes of the spirit see the soul being cleansed. The eyes of the body see the body emerging from the water; the eyes of faith see the new man come forth brightly shining from that sacred purification.²⁹ Our bodily eyes see the priest as, from above, he lays his right hand on the head and touches [him who is being baptized]; our spiritual eyes see the great High Priest as He stretches forth His invisible hand to touch his head. For, at that moment, the one who baptizes is not a man but the only-begotten Son of God.³⁰

13. And what happened in the case of our Master's body also happens in the case of your own.³¹ Although John appeared to be holding His body by the head, it was the divine Word which led His body down into the streams of Jordan and baptized Him. The Master's body was baptized by the

Word, and by the voice of His Father from heaven which said: *This is my beloved Son,*³² and by the manifestation of the Holy Spirit which descended upon Him.³³ This also happens in the case of your body. The baptism is given in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, John the Baptist told us, for our instruction, that man does not baptize us, but God: *There comes after me one who is mightier than I, and I am not worthy to loose the strap of His sandal. He will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire.*³⁴

14. For this reason, when the priest is baptizing he does not say, "I baptize so-and-so," but, "So-and-so is baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."³⁵ In this way he shows that it is not he who baptizes but those whose names have been invoked, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

15. Therefore, my sermon today is called "faith," and I entrust nothing else to you until you shall say "I believe."³⁶ This word is a foundation stone unshaken which holds up an unshaken edifice.³⁷ Therefore, Paul also says: *For he who comes to God must believe that God exists.*³⁸

16. Therefore, you who are coming to God, first believe in God and then speak out that word loud and clear. For if you cannot do this, you will be able neither to speak nor understand any other. Let me pass over that mysterious birth which has no human witnesses.³⁹ Let me bring before you that birth which took place here below and was witnessed by many.⁴⁰ Through this very explanation I shall secure your faith in things, because without faith you would never be able to accept it.

17. He who cannot be contained, He who contains all and rules all, came into a virgin's womb. How, tell me, and in what way? You cannot explain it. But if you come to

believe, your faith will be able to satisfy you to the full. In matters that surpass the weakness of our reasoning we must turn to the teaching of faith. Matthew, who wrote of it, did not understand the manner of that begetting, for he said: *She was found to be with child by the Holy Spirit*,⁴¹ but he did not teach us how this came to pass. Nor did Gabriel understand, for he had only this to say: *The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee*.⁴² But he did not understand how and in what way.

18. But as regards the instruction on faith, I shall leave that task for your teacher.⁴³ I will be able to speak to you of it at another time, when many of the uninitiated will be present.⁴⁴ But what you alone must hear now and what cannot be told to you when the uninitiated are mingled together with you, these things I must tell you today.

RENOUNCEMENT OF SATAN AND COVENANT WITH CHRIST⁴⁵

19. What are these things? Tomorrow, on Friday at the ninth hour, you must have certain questions asked of you and you must present your contracts to the Master.⁴⁶ Nor do I make mention to you of that day and that hour without some purpose. A mystical lesson can be learned from them.⁴⁷ For on Friday at the ninth hour the thief entered paradise; the darkness, which lasted from the sixth to the ninth hour, was dissolved; and the Light, perceived by both body and mind,⁴⁸ was taken up as a sacrifice for the whole world. For at that hour Christ said: *Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit*.⁴⁹ Then the sun we see looked on the Sun of Justice shining from the cross and turned back its own rays.

20. Therefore, when you are about to be led [into the church]⁵⁰ at the ninth hour,⁵¹ do you also recall to mind the

great number of your virtuous deeds and count those gifts which await you; you will no longer be on earth, but your soul will raise itself up and lay hold of heaven itself.

21. Furthermore, when you have all entered [the church], then must you all together—for you must observe this, that all these gifts are given to all of you in common, so that the rich man may not look down on the poor man, nor the poor man consider that he has any less than the rich man; for in Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female, there is no Scythian, no barbarian, no Jew, no Greek;⁵² not only is there no difference of age or nature, but even every difference of honor is canceled out; there is one esteem for all, one gift, one brotherhood binding us together, the same grace—so then, when you have all been led into [the church], then must you all together bend your knee and not stand erect; you must stretch your hands to heaven and thank God for this gift.⁵³

22. Sacred custom bids you to remain on your knees, so as to acknowledge His absolute rule even by your posture, for to bend the knee is a mark of those who acknowledge their servitude.⁵⁴ Hear what St. Paul says: *To Him every knee shall bend of those in heaven, on earth, and under the earth.*⁵⁵ And after you have bent your knees, those who are initiating you bid you to speak those words: “I renounce thee, Satan.”⁵⁶

23. Just now tears welled up in my eyes; my mind was confounded and bitterly did I groan. Why did I mention that holy night on which I was brought to the dreadful and holy initiation? I remembered my purity at that time and the sins which I have piled up from that day to this. In the same way, every woman who has fallen from a position of wealth and plenty into the utmost beggary grieves and laments when she sees others as brides being married and given to wealthy bridegrooms, enjoying great honor, and

being led to the bridegroom's home with a retinue and procession. These unfortunate women do not grieve and suffer because they envy the other women's good fortune but because, in others' prosperity, they learn more accurately of their own misfortunes. Something such as this has just now happened to me. But in order that while narrating my own troubles I may not lead the discussion into a rather gloomy theme, let us get back to you again.⁵⁷

24. "I renounce thee, Satan."⁵⁸ What has happened? What is this strange and unexpected turn of events? Although you were all quivering with fear, did you rebel against your master? Do you look with scorn upon his cruelty? Who has brought you to such madness? Whence came this boldness of yours? "I have a weapon," you say, "a strong weapon." What weapon, what ally? Tell me! "I enter into thy service, O Christ," you reply. "Hence, I am bold and rebel. For I have a strong place of refuge. This has made me superior to the demon, although heretofore I was trembling and afraid. Therefore, I not only renounce him but also all his pomps."

25. What are the pomps of the devil? Every form of sin, spectacles of indecency,⁵⁹ horse racing,⁶⁰ gatherings filled with laughter and abusive language. Portents, oracles, omens, observances of times, tokens, amulets, and incantations⁶¹—these too are pomps of the devil.⁶² But the cross has the strength of a wonderful amulet and a mighty incantation; blessed is the soul which speaks in the name of Jesus Christ crucified. Call upon that name and every disease will flee, every attack of Satan will yield.

26. Therefore, remember these words. They are your contract with the Bridegroom.⁶³ It is necessary, before a marriage, to complete an account of the gifts and the dowry; you too must do so before this marriage.⁶⁴ He found you

naked and a beggar, behaving in an unseemly manner, but He did not run away;⁶⁵ you were the one who had to choose. Instead of a dowry, contribute these words, and Christ will consider that the wealth you bring is great—if you will keep and observe these words through all your life. For Christ finds His wealth in the salvation of our souls. Listen to what St. Paul says: *Rich towards all and for all who call upon Him.*⁶⁶

ANOINTING OF THE CATECHUMEN

27. After these words, after the renunciation of the devil and the covenant with Christ, inasmuch as you have henceforth become His very own and have nothing in common with that evil one, He straightway bids you to be marked and places on your forehead the sign of the cross.⁶⁷ That savage beast is shameless and, when he hears those words, he grows more wild—as we might expect—and desires to assault you on sight. Hence, God anoints your countenance and stamps thereon the sign of the cross. In this way does God hold in check all the frenzy of the Evil One; for the devil will not dare to look upon such a sight. Just as if he had beheld the rays of the sun and had leaped away, so will his eyes be blinded by the sight of your face and he will depart;⁶⁸ for through the chrism the cross is stamped upon you. The chrism is a mixture of olive oil and unguent; the unguent is for the bride, the oil is for the athlete.⁶⁹ And that you may again know that it is not a man but God Himself who anoints you by the hand of the priest,⁷⁰ listen to St. Paul when he says: *It is God who is warrant for us and for you in Christ, who has anointed us.*⁷¹ After He anoints all your limbs with this ointment, you will be secure and able to hold the serpent in check; you will suffer no harm.⁷²

BAPTISM

28. After the anointing, then, it remains to go into the bath of sacred waters. After stripping you of your robe,⁷³ the priest himself leads you down into the flowing waters.⁷⁴ But why naked? He reminds you of your former nakedness, when you were in Paradise and you were not ashamed.⁷⁵ For Holy Writ says: *Adam and Eve were naked and were not ashamed,*⁷⁶ until they took up the garment of sin, a garment heavy with abundant shame.

29. Do not, then, feel shame here, for the bath is much better than the garden of Paradise. There can be no serpent here, but Christ is here initiating you into the regeneration that comes from the water and the Spirit.⁷⁷ You cannot see here beautiful trees and fruits, but you can see spiritual favors. You cannot find here the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, nor law and commandments, but you can find grace and gifts. *For sin shall not have dominion over you, since you are not under the Law but under grace.*⁷⁸

PRAY FOR THE CHURCH

30. Since you have listened with such pleasure to my words, I shall make a request by way of recompense for this pleasure, a request which I made of you at the beginning. When you go down into the bath of those waters, remember my worthlessness. I begged this of you not long ago when I mentioned Joseph, who said to the chief cupbearer: *Remember me when it shall be well with thee.*⁷⁹ I, too, said to you at the beginning: *Remember me when it shall be well with thee*, but now I do not say: *Remember me when it shall be well with thee*, but I say: Remember me after it is well with thee. Joseph also said: Remember that I have done no

wrong;⁸⁰ but I say: Remember that I have done many wicked and evil deeds.⁸¹

31. All of you now have great confidence⁸² in approaching the King; we are sending you to Him as public ambassadors in behalf of human nature. You bring to Him no crown of gold, but a crown of faith. He will receive you with abundant good will; ask Him, then, in behalf of the common mother of us all, that she be neither in tumult nor disturbed.⁸³ And beg Him also in behalf of the Archbishop through whose hands and words you gain these blessings.⁸⁴ Speak with Him at length of the priests who sit with us in council,⁸⁵ of the race of men, that He may remit not the remainder of their wealth but the remainder of their sins. Let virtue become general. For all of you have great confidence in approaching the Master, and He will receive you with a kiss.

THE SACRED KISS

32. Since I mentioned a kiss, I wish now also to speak to you of this. When we are about to participate in the sacred Table, we are also instructed to offer a holy greeting.⁸⁶ Why? Since we have been divorced from our bodies, we join souls with one another on that occasion by means of the kiss, so that our gathering becomes like the gathering of the apostles when, because all believed, there was one heart and one soul.

33. Bound together in this fashion, we ought to approach the sacred mysteries. Hear what Christ says: *If thou art offering thy gift at the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother has anything against thee, go first to be reconciled to thy brother and then offer thy gift.*⁸⁷ He did not say: "First offer"; He said: *First be reconciled and then offer.* When the gift is set before us, let us, therefore, first become reconciled with one another and then proceed to the sacrifice.

34. But there can be another mystical meaning of this kiss. The Holy Spirit has made us temples of Christ.⁸⁸ Therefore, when we kiss each other's mouths, we are kissing the entrance of the temple. Let no one, therefore, do this with a wicked conscience, with a mind that festers beneath the surface. For the kiss is a holy thing. St. Paul says: *Greet one another with a holy kiss.*⁸⁹

35. Let us remember all these things and observe them through all our lives—the covenant with Christ, the renunciation of Satan, the confidence which the Master now grants to us; let us guard them unsullied and pure, so that with abundant glory we may meet the King of heaven and be judged worthy to be snatched up in the clouds and be found deserving of the kingdom of heaven. May we all obtain this by the grace and loving-kindness of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory forever. Amen.

THE TWELFTH INSTRUCTION (Montfaucon 2)

To Those About to Be Baptized. On Women
Who Adorn Themselves with Braided Hair
and Gold. On Those Who Make Use of Omens,
Amulets, and Incantations, All of Which
Are Foreign to Christianity.¹

1. First I have come to ask your loving assembly² for the fruits of my recent discourse. For I do not speak only that you may hear, but that you may remember what I said and give me proof of it by your deeds; rather, you must give proof to God, who knows your secret thoughts. This is why my discourse is called a catechesis, so that even when I am not here my words may echo in your minds.³

2. Do not be surprised if after only ten days⁴ I have come to ask for the fruits of the seeds which I have sown. For it is possible on a single day both to sow the seed and to reap the harvest, since we are summoned to the contest relying not on our own strength but relying on the power which is ours thanks to the help of God.⁵ Let all who received my words and fulfilled them in deeds keep straining forward.

3. Let all who have not yet put their hand to this good work begin now, in order that they may drive off by their future zeal the condemnation which comes from negligence. For it is possible, yes, it is possible even for one who has been extremely negligent to show himself zealous thereafter and, with the passage of time, to recover his entire loss. Therefore, the Psalmist says: *Today if you shall hear his voice, harden not your hearts, as in the provocation.*⁶ He says this,

however, to encourage and counsel us never to despair but, as long as we are here, to have good hopes of laying hold of what lies ahead and of pressing on to the prize of God's heavenly call.⁷

THE NAME OF FAITHFUL

4. Let us do this, therefore, and let us examine closely the names of this great gift.⁸ A dignity whose greatness is not clearly understood leaves those who receive it indifferent to their honor; when they understand the magnitude of their dignity, they are grateful and become more eager for it. Furthermore, it would be disgraceful and ridiculous for those who are reaping the fruits of such dignity and honor from God not to know what the names mean.⁹

5. What do I say about this gift? If you think about the common name of our race, you will receive the greatest instruction and exhortation to virtue. For we define the noun "man," not as the pagan philosophers¹⁰ do but as Holy Scripture commands us. Man is not simply one who has the hands and feet of a man, nor only one who is rational, but one who is confident¹¹ in the practice of piety and virtue. Hear what the Scripture says about Job. After saying: *There was a man in the land of Hus,*¹² it does not describe him by the definitions by which the pagan philosophers would, nor does it say that he had two feet or broad fingernails. The inspired writer set forth the characteristics of the virtue of piety when he spoke of Job as *just, true, worshiping God, and keeping himself from every wicked deed,*¹³ showing by this that Job was a man. Another inspired writer says: *Fear God, and keep his commandments, for this is all man.*¹⁴

6. But if the noun "man" furnishes such an exhortation to virtue, does not the word "faithful" give a much greater one?¹⁵ You are called "faithful" both because you believe in

God and have as a trust from Him justification, sanctity, purity of soul, filial adoption, and the kingdom of heaven. God has entrusted and given these over to your keeping; you, on the other hand, have given over and entrusted other things to Him: almsgiving, prayers, temperance, and every other virtue.¹⁶

7. Why do I speak of almsgiving? If you gave Him even a cup of cold water, you will not lose it, but He will be careful to keep it until the last day and will return it to you superabundantly. This is indeed wonderful; He not only keeps the deposits for us but even increases them when He repays.¹⁷

8. He has commanded you, too, to do this as far as you can in the things which have been entrusted to you—to increase the sanctity which you have received, to render more shining your justice after the bath, and to make your grace more lustrous, just as Paul did, who, by his subsequent toils and zeal and eagerness, increased all the blessings he had received.¹⁸

9. Note the care which God shows. He did not give you everything here, nor did He deprive you of everything, but some things He gave and He promised others. Why did He not give everything in this world? That you might prove your faith in Him by believing, on His promises alone, in the things which have not yet been given. Again, why did He not keep everything for heaven? Why did He give the grace of the Spirit, justification, and sanctity? That He might make your toils lighter and establish you in good hope of the blessings to come because of what has already been given.¹⁹

THE NAME OF NEWLY-ILLUMINED

10. You shall be called “newly-illuminated,” because your light is always new, if you wish it that way, and it is never extinguished. Whether we shall have it so or not, night

follows the light of this world; but the darkness knows not the shining of this new light. *The light shines in the darkness; and the darkness grasped it not.*²⁰ Certainly, the world is not as bright when the sun rises as is the soul which is illumined and becomes brighter from the grace it has received from the Spirit.²¹

11. Consider more closely the nature of these things. When night falls and it is dark, many a time a man sees a rope and thinks it is a snake; and when a friend approaches him, he flees from him as if he were a foe; when he hears a noise, he is frightened. Nothing like this would happen in the light of day; everything is seen then just as it really is.²²

12. This same thing happens in the case of our soul. Whenever grace comes and drives out the darkness from our mind, we learn the exact nature of things; what frightened us before, now becomes contemptible in our eyes. We no longer are afraid of death after we have learned carefully from this holy initiation that death is not death but a sleep and repose which lasts but for a time.²³ Nor are we afraid of poverty or disease or any such misfortune, because we know that we are on our way to a better life, which is impervious to death and destruction and is free from all such inequality.²⁴

13. Let us, then, no longer stay gaping after the good things of this life, such as luxurious foods and expensive clothing. For you have the greatest of garments, you have a spiritual banquet, you have the glory which comes from on high; Christ has become all things for you: table, clothing, house, head, and root. *For all you who have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ.*²⁵ See how He has become your clothing.

14. Do you wish to know how He also becomes your food? *As I live through the Father, Christ says, so he who eats me, he also shall live because of me.*²⁶ And He also

becomes your house: *He who eats my flesh abides in me and I in him.*²⁷ And He shows that He is our root and foundation when He says: *I am the vine, you are the branches.*²⁸ To show that He is your brother, friend, and bridegroom, He says: *No longer do I call you servants, for you are my friends.*²⁹ Again, St. Paul says: *I betrothed you to one spouse, that I might present you a chaste virgin to Christ.*³⁰ And again: *that He should be the first-born among many brethren.*³¹ Not only do we become His brothers but even His children, for He says: *Behold I and my children, whom God hath given me.*³² Not only do we become His children but His members and His Body.³³ As if the things already mentioned were not enough to prove the love and kindness which He shows toward us, He set down another thing, greater and more intimate than these, when He spoke of Himself as our Head.³⁴

ANSWER CHRIST BY THE EXCELLENCE OF YOUR CONDUCT

15. Since you know all these things, beloved, make answer to your Benefactor by the excellence of your conduct. After you have considered how great was His sacrifice, beautify the members of your body. Think of what you receive in your hand, and never lift it to strike another and never disgrace with the sin of assault the hand which has been honored with so great a gift. Think of what you receive in your hand and keep it clean of all greed and theft.³⁵

16. Consider that you not only receive this gift in your hand but that you also bring it up to your mouth, and keep your tongue clean of all disgraceful and outrageous words, blasphemy, perjury, and all other sins of this sort.³⁶ For it is a deed fraught with destruction to take the tongue which serves such awesome mysteries, which has become purpled

with a blood so precious, and which has become a sword of gold, and to change its course to abuse, insolence, and ribald jests. Have reverence for the honor which God has bestowed on it, and do not lead it down to the vileness of sin.³⁷

17. When you have considered that, after the hand and tongue, the heart receives this awesome mystery, plot no treachery against your neighbor,³⁸ but keep your mind free from all wickedness. In this way you will be able to keep secure your eyes and ears. For is it not absurd, after hearing that mystic voice which comes down from on high—I mean the voice of the cherubim—to sully your ears with songs for harlots and with degenerate melodies?³⁹

18. Do you not deserve the most extreme punishment if you use the same eyes with which you behold the ineffable and awesome mysteries to look upon harlots and to commit adultery in your heart?⁴⁰ Beloved, you are invited to a marriage; do not come to it wearing a garment covered with filth, but take a garment which is suitable for the wedding feast.⁴¹

19. Even when men are extremely poor, they often either borrow or buy a clean robe when they are invited to an earthly wedding, and garbed in this they go to meet those who have invited them. But you have been invited to a spiritual wedding and a royal banquet; consider, then, what sort of wedding garment you should buy. On the other hand, there is no need for you to buy it, because He who has invited you gives you the garment as a gift, so that you cannot offer your poverty as an excuse.⁴²

20. Guard, then, the garment you have received; if you ruin it, you will not be able to borrow or buy another. There is no place where this kind of garment is for sale. Did you not hear how those who had been previously baptized groaned and beat their breasts because their consciences

stirred them in this matter? See to it, then, my beloved, that you never undergo this experience. But you must undergo it if you do not cast far from you the wicked habit of evil deeds.⁴³

RID YOURSELVES OF EVIL HABITS

21. I have said it before, I say it now, and I shall say it again and again: unless a man has corrected the defects of his character and has developed a facility for virtue, let him not be baptized. For the bath can do away with sins previously committed; but there is no small fear nor insignificant danger that we may fall again into the same sins, and then the cure becomes a wound for us. For those who sin after baptism, the punishment is proportioned to the greatness of the grace we received in it.⁴⁴

22. In order, then, that we may not return to our old vomit, let us now instruct ourselves. We must repent and keep far away from our former sins and in this way approach to grace. Hear what John the Baptist says and what the prince of the apostles says to those who are about to receive baptism. For John says: *Bring forth fruit befitting repentance, and do not begin to say among yourselves, "We have Abraham for our father."*⁴⁵ And again, to those who asked him what to do, Peter said: *Repent and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.*⁴⁶ But he who repents no longer clings to the same sins of which he repents, and for this reason we are commanded to say: "I renounce thee, Satan," in order that we may never return to him.

23. Let the same thing happen now which occurs in the case of painters. They set forth their wooden tablets, draw white lines around them, and trace in outline the royal

images before they daub on the true colors. They are perfectly free to erase the sketch and to substitute another instead, correcting mistakes and changing what turned out badly. But after they go ahead and daub on the pigments, they can no longer erase again and substitute, since they injure the beauty of the image by doing so, and it becomes a matter for reproach.⁴⁷

24. You do the same thing. Consider that your soul is an image. Before daubing on the true color of the Spirit, erase the bad habits which have become implanted in you, whether it be swearing, lying, uttering insults, foul language, buffoonery, or any other of the disreputable things you are in the habit of doing. Erase the habit, that you may not come back to it after baptism. The bath takes away the sins, but you must correct the habit, so that after the pigments have been daubed on and the royal image shines forth, you may never thereafter blot it out or cause wounds or scars on the beauty which God has given you.

ONLY WE CAN HURT OURSELVES⁴⁸

25. Check your anger, quench your wrath. If anyone does you injury or violence, weep for him. Do not be vexed, but show sympathy for him, so that you may not become provoked and say: "My soul has been hurt." No one's soul is hurt, unless we hurt our own souls. How is this so? Let me tell you. Has someone stolen your property? He has not hurt you in your soul, but in your purse; but if you bear a grudge against him, you have hurt yourself in your soul. The loss of property did no hurt to your soul, but even helped it; if, however, you do not put aside your anger, you will pay the penalty hereafter for the grudge you bear. Has someone abused and insulted you? He has hurt neither your soul nor

your body. But did you return his abuse and insults in kind? You have hurt your own soul and you are going to pay hereafter the penalty for the words you have spoken.

26. Indeed, I wish, above all things, that you understand that no one has the power to do harm to the soul of the faithful Christian, not even the devil himself.⁴⁹ Not only is it a wonderful thing that God has made us incapable of being overcome by any treachery, but that He has fitted us for the practice of virtue. If we be willing, there is nothing to stop us, even if we be poor, weak in body, outcasts, nameless, or slaves. For neither poverty, nor weakness, nor bodily disability, nor slavery, nor any other such thing could be a hindrance to virtue.

27. And why do I speak of the poor man, the slave, and the nameless? Even if you are in prison, this is no hindrance to virtue. Let me tell you how this is so. Has someone in your household hurt and provoked you? Lay aside your anger against him. Neither prison, nor poverty, nor lack of fame is a hindrance to your doing that, is it? And why call these a hindrance? They even help us and work with us in checking our vanity.

28. Did you see some other man enjoying prosperity? Do not envy him, for poverty is no hindrance in this case either. Again, when it is time to pray, do so with a sober and wakeful heart, and there will be nothing here to hinder you. Show your meekness, all the mildness of your heart, your temperance, your holiness; these require no external aids. And this is the most important thing about virtue: it has no need of wealth, or power, or glory, or any other such thing. If only the soul be holy, virtue seeks nothing beyond that.⁵⁰

29. Note well that this same thing is true in the case of grace. Even if a man be lame, or his eyes have been torn out, or he be disabled in body, or has fallen into the most extreme

weakness, none of these things prevents grace from coming into the soul. For grace seeks out only the soul which is eager to receive it, and ignores all these external things.⁵¹

YOU ARE CHRIST'S RECRUITS

30. In the case of recruits for an army of this world, those whose task it is to induct them into the army look for bodily size and health. Not only must the future soldier have these qualities, but he must also be a free man. If he be a slave, he is rejected.⁵² But the King of heaven looks for no such thing. He even receives slaves into His army, and those who are old and weakened in limb; and He is not ashamed of them.⁵³

31. Could there be anything more loving and kind than this? He seeks only qualities that lie within our control. Recruiters for the armies of earth look for things over which their recruits have no control. To be a slave or free is not ours to determine. Nor is it within our power to be tall or short, to be old, or to be perfect in body, or any other thing of this sort. But to be mild, or good, or similarly virtuous does lie within the power of our will. And God asks us only for the things of which we are masters.

32. And this is very reasonable. For He does not call us to His grace because of any need on His part; He does so because of His goodness.⁵⁴ But earthly kings recruit soldiers because of the service they will give. They lead their troops into war against a visible foe; He leads His troops into a spiritual battle.

THE CONTEST WITH SATAN

33. The same analogy holds good not only in the case of the wars of this world, but also in the case of the games. Those

who are going to be brought into the arena do not go down to the contests until the herald takes them and leads them around before the eyes of all, as he lifts his voice and says: "Does anyone accuse this man?"⁵⁵ And yet this is no contest involving the soul, but a wrestling match of men's bodies. Why, then, do you demand an accounting of the contestants' free birth?

34. But in the case of the soul quite the opposite is true, since the combat does not consist in wrestling grips but in the philosophy⁵⁶ of the soul and the virtue of the heart. The Judge's action is quite the opposite too; for He does not take the contestant, lead him around, and say: "Does anyone accuse this man?" Rather, He calls aloud: "Even if all men and the demons who stand by the devil's side accuse this man of the most enormous and unspeakable crimes, I do not reject him nor do I loathe him; I have set him free from his accusers, I have absolved him of his wickedness, and thus freed and absolved, I lead him to the contest."⁵⁷

35. And this is quite reasonable. For in the contests in the arena, the judge does not help the contestants to victory but stands impartially in the middle. In the spiritual contests, however, the Judge of the games of piety becomes our all and helper, and joins forces with the contestants in the fight against the devil.⁵⁸

36. Not only is it wonderful that He forgives us our sins, but also that He neither uncovers them nor does He make them stand forth clearly revealed. Nor does He force us to come forward and publicly proclaim our misdeeds, but He bids us to make our defense to Him alone and to confess our sins to Him. And yet, if any judge of a worldly tribunal were to tell some captured highwayman or grave robber to confess his crime and be excused from paying the penalty, the prisoner would with all alacrity admit the truth and scorn the

disgrace in his desire to go free. But this is not the case in baptism. God forgives our sins and does not force us to make a parade of them in the presence of others. He seeks one thing only: that he who benefits by the forgiveness may learn the greatness of the gift.⁵⁹

37. When He shows us His kindness, He is satisfied to have us alone as witnesses. Is it not absurd, then, that we seek witnesses and make a show of it when we serve Him? Let us, therefore, admire His kindliness and give evidence of our own effort. Before all else, let us curb our onrushing tongues and not be always talking. *In the multitude of words thou shalt not escape sin.*⁶⁰ If you have something useful to say, open your lips; if there be no need to speak, be silent, for it is better that way.

GOD CAN BE WORSHIPED EVERYWHERE

38. Do you work with your hands? Sit down and sing.⁶¹ But you do not wish to sing with your mouth? Do it with your heart. A song is a great comrade. You will cause no damage by this, but you will be able to sit at your work as if you were in the workshop of a monastery. For it is not the fitness of a place but the rigid discipline of our character that will provide us with quiet. At least St. Paul practiced his trade in a workshop and suffered no hurt to his own virtue. Therefore, do not keep saying: "Since I am poor and work with my hands, how shall I be able to lead a life of philosophy?"⁶² It is for this reason above all that you will be able to lead the life of philosophy.

39. In the matter of piety, poverty serves us better than wealth, and work better than idleness, especially since wealth becomes an obstacle even for those who do not devote themselves to it. Yet, when we must put aside our wrath, quench

our envy, soften our anger, offer our prayers, and show a disposition which is reasonable, mild, kindly, and loving, how could poverty stand in our way? For we accomplish these things not by spending money but by making the correct choice. Almsgiving above all else requires money, but even this shines with a brighter luster when the alms are given from our poverty. The widow who paid in the two mites was poorer than any human, but she outdid them all.⁶³

40. Therefore, let us not consider that wealth is anything great, nor that gold is any better than clay.⁶⁴ The value of a substance does not come from its nature but from what we think about it. For if we were to investigate the matter carefully, iron is far more necessary than gold. Gold brings nothing useful into our lives, but iron serves countless arts and supplies many of our needs.

41. But why do I make this comparison between gold and iron? These ordinary stones are much more necessary than precious stones. From gems could come nothing useful, but from these stones we can build houses, walls, and cities. You show me what benefit could come from precious stones; rather, show me what harm could not come from them!⁶⁵ That you may wear a single ruby, countless poor are starved and crushed. What defense will you find against this charge? And what pardon?

THE TRUE ADORNMENT OF WOMAN⁶⁶

42. Do you wish to adorn your face? Do not do so with gems but with piety and modesty; thus adorned, a man will find your appearance more pleasing to behold. For that other kind of adornment generally arouses suspicions which give rise to jealousy, enmity, strife, and quarrels. For there is nothing more disgusting than a suspiciously beautiful face.

But the adornment which comes from almsgiving and modesty drives out all wicked suspicion and draws your husband to you with greater strength than any chain. For natural beauty does not make a face become beautiful as much as does the disposition of him who beholds it, and nothing is more likely to produce this disposition than modesty and piety. Hence, even if a woman be beautiful but her husband hates her, she will appear to him as the ugliest of women; if a woman does not happen to be comely but she pleases her husband, he will find her the fairest of women. Judgments are made not in the light of the nature of what is seen but in the light of the disposition of those who see it.

43. Adorn your face, therefore, with modesty, piety, almsgiving, benevolence, love, kindness toward your husband, reasonableness, mildness, and forbearance.⁶⁷ These are the pigments of virtue; by these you draw not men but angels to you as your lovers; for these you have God Himself to praise you. When God shall approve of you, He will win over your husband to you in every way; for if wisdom illumines the face of a man, much more does virtue make the face of a woman shine forth.

44. If you consider that virtue is a great adornment to your beauty, tell me, what benefit will come to you from pearls on that day?⁶⁸ But what need is there to speak of that day, when it is possible to prove all these points with arguments from the present life? Surely, when those who are held to have insulted the emperor are dragged into court and are in danger of their lives, then their mothers and wives put off their necklaces, their gold and pearls, all their adornment and gold-embroidered robes; they put on a simple, inexpensive garment, sprinkle themselves with ashes, roll in the dust

before the doors of the courtroom, and in this way try to move the judges.⁶⁹

45. But if golden ornaments, pearls, and embroidered robes could treacherously betray you in the courts of this world, whereas mildness, gentleness, ashes, tears, cheap garments are more calculated to win the judge over to your side, this would be all the more true in that dread judgment where there can be no bribing.⁷⁰ For what word of defense will you be able to speak when the Master shall accuse you in the matter of these pearls, and when He shall lead forward the poor who have perished from hunger? This is why Paul said: *not with braided hair or gold or pearls or expensive clothing.*⁷¹ For these could be a trap.

46. But even if we should enjoy these things day in and day out, we shall be separated from them utterly by death. Virtue, however, does not change or alter; it is completely secure, and it both makes us more secure in this world and goes along with us to the next. Do you wish to possess pearls and never to lay aside this wealth? Then strip off your adornment and put it into Christ's hands through the hands of His poor. He will guard all your riches for you against the day when He will raise up your body with great glory. Then He will put on you a better wealth and richer adornment, since your present wealth and adornment are really paltry and ridiculous.

47. Think, then, who they are whom you wish to please and on whose account you wear this adornment. Is it that the ropemaker and the coppersmith and the man in the market may look at you and marvel? Are you not ashamed and do you not blush to be showing yourself off to these people and to be doing all this for men whom you do not consider worthy of a greeting?

THE RENUNCIATION OF SATAN AND HIS POMPS

48. How, then, can you laugh at this scene I have presented? Suppose you recall those words you utter when you are being initiated: "I renounce thee, Satan, thy pomps and thy service." The madness to be adorned with pearls is one of Satan's pomps.⁷² You received gold, not to bind your body with it, but to help and feed the poor. Hence, keep repeating: "I renounce thee, Satan." Nothing will render us more secure than these words, as long as we prove them by our deeds.

49. And I ask you who are about to be initiated to learn these words. They constitute a contract with the Master. When we are buying slaves, we first ask those who are for sale if they are willing to serve us. Christ does the same. When He is about to take you into His service, He first asks you if you are willing to put away that cruel and harsh master, and He accepts from you your contract. He does not force His mastership on you.⁷³

50. And consider God's loving-kindness. Before we pay out the price, we question the slaves who are for sale, and only when we learn that they are willing to serve us do we pay out our money. But Christ does not deal in this way; He paid the price for all of us, His precious blood. *You have been bought with a price,*⁷⁴ says St. Paul. And even so, He does not force those to serve Him who are unwilling to do so. Unless you are grateful, He says, and are willing of yourself and of your own accord to be enrolled under me as your Master, I do not force or compel you.

51. We ourselves would never choose to buy wicked slaves, and even if we ever should so choose, we buy and pay the price because of a bad choice. But when Christ buys reckless and lawless slaves, He pays the price of the first-class

slave; rather, He pays a much greater price—so much greater that neither mind nor reason can grasp its greatness. For He has bought us, not by giving the heavens, the earth, and the sea, but what is more valuable than all of these, by paying down His own blood. And after all this, He does not demand witnesses of us nor documents, but He is satisfied with our bare statement; if we say from the heart: "I renounce thee, Satan, and thy pomps," He has received all that He asks.⁷⁵

52. Therefore, let us say these words: "I renounce thee, Satan," knowing that we shall be called to account for them on that Day of Judgment; let us guard them, so that we may then repay in full what has been entrusted to our care. And the pomps of the devil are the theaters, the racecourses, every sinful observance of days, presages contained in chance utterances, and omens.⁷⁶

AGAINST OMENS, CHARMS, AND INCANTATIONS

53. And what in the world are omens, you ask? Often a man leaves his own house and sees a man who has one eye or who is lame, and counts it an omen. This is a pomp of the devil. Meeting up with the man does not make it an evil day, but living in sin does. Therefore, when you leave your house, guard against one thing only: see to it that sin does not meet up with you. For it is sin which trips us up, and apart from this there is no way in which the devil can hurt us.⁷⁷

54. What do you mean? You see a man and count it as an omen. Do you fail to see the snare of the devil and how he makes you hostile to a man who has never harmed you, and how he makes you a foe to your brother man for no just cause? God commanded us to love our enemies. But you

turn away from one who has never hurt you, with no charge to make against him. Can you not understand how ridiculous you are? Do you fail to see how disgraceful, rather how dangerous your action is?

55. Let me give you another example that is still more ridiculous. I am ashamed and I blush to say it, but still I am forced to speak for the sake of your salvation. If a virgin chances to meet you, you say the day is an unsuccessful one; but if you happen to meet a prostitute, the day is lucky and good and filled with an abundance of business. Are you hiding your face? Did you beat your brow and bend your head down to the ground? But do not do this while I am talking; do it when you are doing the things of which I speak.

56. At least, see how here the devil has again hidden his guile; we turn away from us the woman of modesty so as to welcome and greet the woman of shame. When Satan heard Christ say: *Anyone who even looks with lust at a woman has already committed adultery with her*,⁷⁸ and when he saw many conquering their incontinence, he wished by another means to drive them back again into sin, and through the observance of this omen he won them over, so that now they are glad to turn their attention to prostitutes.

57. What would you say of those who use incantations and amulets and of those who tie bronze coins of Alexander of Macedon around their heads and feet? Tell me, are these the things in which we place our hopes? After our Master died for us on the cross, will we put our hope for salvation in the image of a Greek king? Do you not know how many wrongs the cross has set right? Did it not destroy death, did it not blot out sin, did it not end the power of the devil, does it not suffice for the well-being of our body? Did it restore the whole world and yet you have no trust in it?⁷⁹

58. What punishment would you not deserve? You

carry around on your person not only amulets but even incantations; you bring into your house drunken and witless old hags. Are you not ashamed and do you not blush that, after you have been trained in true doctrine, you have been terrified by these things?

59. And what is worse than the fraud involved is the fact that when we are exhorting people and leading them away from these practices, they think they excuse themselves by saying that the woman who chants these incantations is a Christian who says nothing but the name of God. I hate and abhor such a woman for this reason above all others, because she uses God's name insultingly and because, while she says she is a Christian, she acts like a Greek. The demons, too, spoke the name of God, but they were demons; even if they said to Christ: *We know who thou art, the Holy One of God,*⁸⁰ He reproved them nevertheless and drove them out.

60. For these reasons, then, I urge you not to be guilty of this fraud; I urge you to hold on to this word as your staff. Just as no one of you would be willing to go down to the market place without shoes or clothing, so let no one of you rush into the market place without this word. When you are going to cross the threshold of a doorway, first speak these words: "I renounce thee, Satan, thy pomps and service, and I enter into thy service, O Christ." And never go forth without saying these words. This will be your staff, this will be your armor, this will be your impregnable tower. And after you speak these words, make the sign of the cross on your forehead.⁸¹ In this way no man will be able to hurt you, nor will the devil himself be able to do so, when he sees you appear with these weapons to protect you on every side.⁸²

61. Therefore, teach yourself now, so that when you receive the sign, you will be a ready soldier,⁸³ and that after you raise the trophies of your rout of the devil, you will

receive the crown of justice. May we all obtain this by the grace and loving-kindness of our Lord Jesus Christ, with whom be glory to the Father together with the Holy Spirit, forever and ever. Amen.

NOTES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CATECHETICAL HOMILIES OF CHRYSOSTOM

Montf. 1 and 2	The series of Montfaucon
PK 2 and 3	The series of Papadopoulos-Kerameus
Stav. 1-8	The series of Stavronikita

OTHER WORKS OF CHRYSOSTOM

Ad scand.	Ad eos qui scandalizati sunt liber 1
Ad Stag.	Ad Stagirium a daemone vexatum libri 1-3
Adv. opp. vitae mon.	Adversus oppugnatores vitae monasticae libri 1-3
Con. Anom.	Contra Anomoeos orationes 1-12
Con. Jud.	Contra Judaeos orationes 1-8
De Anna	De Anna sermones 1-5
De bap. Christi	De baptismo Christi et de epiphania homilia
De Christo pastore	De Christo pastore et ove homilia
De coem. et cruce	De coemeterio et de cruce homilia
De Dav. et Saul.	De Davide et Saule homiliae 1-3
De diab. tent.	De diabolo tentatore homiliae 1-3
De glor. in trib.	De gloria in tribulationibus homilia
De laud. s. Pauli	De laudibus sancti Pauli apostoli homiliae 1-7
De Laz.	De Lazaro conciones 1-7
De mart.	De sanctis martyribus sermo
De mut. nom.	De mutatione nominum homiliae 1-4
De perf. car.	De perfecta caritate homilia
De poen.	De poenitentia homiliae 1-9
De res. dom.	De resurrectione domini nostri Jesu Christi homilia
De sac.	De sacerdotio libri 1-6
De s. Pent.	De sancta Pentecoste homiliae 1-2
De stat.	Ad populum Antiochenum de statu homiliae 1-21
De sub. virg.	Contra eos qui subintroductas habent virgines opusculum
De virg.	De virginitate liber
Exp. in ps.	Expositio in psalmos
Fragm. in Job	Fragmenta in beatum Job

Hom. in Gen.	In Genesim homiliae 1-67
In act. apos.	In acta apostolorum homiliae 1-55
In ascens.	In ascensionem domini nostri Jesu Christi homilia
In Col.	In epistolam ad Colossenses homiliae 1-12
In 1 Cor.	In epistolam 1 ad Corinthios homiliae 1-44
In 2 Cor.	In epistolam 2 ad Corinthios homiliae 1-30
In Eph.	In epistolam ad Ephesios homiliae 1-24
In Gal.	In epistolam ad Galatas commentarius
In Heb.	In epistolam ad Hebraeos homiliae 1-34
In Isa.	In Isaiam prophetam interpretatio
In Joh.	In s. Johannis evangelium homiliae 1-88
In kal.	In kalendas sermo
In Mac.	In sanctos Maccabaeos homiliae 1-3
In mart.	De sanctis martyribus Bernice et Prosdoce homilia
In Matt.	In s. Matthaei evangelium homiliae 1-91
In paralyticum	In paralyticum demissum per tectum homilia
In Pent.	In sanctam Pentecosten sermones 1-3
In Phil.	In epistolam ad Philippenses homiliae 1-15
In prin. act.	In principium actorum homiliae 1-4
In Rom.	In epistolam ad Romanos homiliae 1-32
In s. Bar.	In sanctum Barlaamum martyrem laudatio
In s. Jul.	In sanctum Julianum martyrem laudatio
In sanctum Pascha	In sanctum Pascha concio
In 1 Thess.	In epistolam 1 ad Thessalonicenses homiliae 1-11
In 1 Tim.	In epistolam 1 ad Timotheum homiliae 1-18
In 2 Tim.	In epistolam 2 ad Timotheum homiliae 1-10
In Titum	In epistolam ad Titum homiliae 1-6
Nolo vos ign.	In dictum Pauli: nolo vos ignorare
Non ad grat. conc.	Non esse ad gratiam concionandum
Prop. forn.	In illud: propter fornicationes
Qual. duc. ux.	Quales ducendae uxores
Sal. Prisc.	In illud: salutate Priscillam et Aquilam homiliae 1-2
Serm. in Gen.	In Genesim sermones 1-9
Vidi dom.	In illud: vidi dominum homiliae 1-6

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

ACW

Ancient Christian Writers (Westminster, Md.—
London 1946-)

Baur 1 and 2	C. Baur, <i>John Chrysostom and His Time</i> : Vol. 1, <i>Antioch</i> ; Vol. 2, <i>Constantinople</i> (Westminster, Md. 1960-61)
CE	Catholic Encyclopedia (New York 1907-14)
DACL	Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie (Paris 1907-53)
DTC	Dictionnaire de théologie catholique (Paris 1903-)
MG	Patrologia graeca, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris 1857-66)
ML	Patrologia latina, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris 1844-55)
Rit. Arm.	F. C. Conybeare and A. J. Maclean, <i>Rituale Armenorum</i> (Oxford 1905)
SeT	R. Tonneau and R. Devreesse, <i>Les homélies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste</i> (Studi e testi 145, Vatican City 1949)
Touttée	A. A. Touttée, S. P. N. Cyrilli Hierosolymitani <i>opera omnia</i> (MG 33)
Var. gr. sac.	A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, <i>Varia graeca sacra</i> (St. Petersburg 1909)
Wenger	A. Wenger, <i>Jean Chrysostome: Huit catéchèses baptismales inédites</i> (Sources chrétiennes 50, Paris 1957)

INTRODUCTION

¹ For biographies of Chrysostom see D. Attwater, *St. John Chrysostom* (Milwaukee 1939) and most recently C. Baur, O.S.B., *John Chrysostom and His Time*: Vol. 1, *Antioch*, Vol. 2, *Constantinople*, tr. Sister M. Gonzaga, R.S.M. (Westminster, Md. 1960-61). These volumes are hereinafter referred to as Baur 1 and 2. For shorter accounts cf. C. Baur, "John Chrysostom," CE 8 (1913) 452-57; P. W. Harkins, "Chrysostom (John)," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 5 (1961) 665-66. For the most complete and up-to-date bibliographies on Chrysostom and his works, see J. Quasten, *Patrology* 3 (Westminster, Md. 1960) 424-82.

² The diptychs were lists of the dead whose names were read aloud in the liturgy; they probably were forerunners of the later martyrologies. See H. Leclercq, "Diptyques," DACL 4 (1921) 1045-1170.

³ See Paul Albert, *S. Jean Chrysostome considéré comme orateur populaire* (Paris 1858) esp. Ch. 7; Baur 1.206-30.

⁴ See Albert, *op. cit.* 165-81; Baur 1.231-58, 315-29.

⁵ Antoine Wenger, A.A., *Jean Chrysostome: Huit catéchèses baptismales inédites* (Sources chrétiennes 50, Paris 1957). This book is hereinafter referred to as Wenger. My own Introduction and the annotations to the first eight Instructions stem in great measure from Wenger's excellent work.

⁶ *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos* 1 (Cambridge 1895) 75.

⁷ The reason for Lampros' error was that he considered Stavronikita 6 to be a single MS., whereas in fact it consists of three MSS. bound in a single volume. The last portion, which is mutilated, bore no number but immediately followed a homily (at the end of the second section) bearing the number 23. It seems that Lampros concluded that the last should be counted as number 24 and, hence, he arrived at the erroneous figure.

⁸ The article deals with the notations on the parchment MSS. of Stavronikita and appeared in *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμάς* 5 (1921) 262-63. However, his number (47) also seems to be wrong. Wenger (*op. cit.* 14-15) lists the contents as follows:

- 1) ff. 1-339, parchment, beginning of the eleventh century: forty-one discourses of Chrysostom numbered from 1 to 41. This portion consists of three parts: (a) ff. 1-51v: eight catecheses (on baptism) numbered 1-8; (b) ff. 51v-146: a collection of fifteen homilies numbered from 9 to 23, which fill out the collection of

undecim novae homiliae, the eleven new homilies, first published by Montfaucon in 1738 and now contained in MG 63.455-530; (c) ff. 146-339v: seventeen homilies on different subjects numbered from 24 to 41, of which all have been previously known and published.

- 2) ff. 340-448, parchment of the eleventh century: nine (*sic*) discourses of Chrysostom, of which the first is incomplete, numbered from 16 to 23. (At most this should add up to eight.)
- 3) ff. 449-453, parchment of the eleventh or twelfth century: a fragment of a lectionary containing the first epistle of St. John as a reading for the procession on the feast of the Purification (February 2). Lampros seems to have considered this as a homily.

⁹ These twenty-four lectures, delivered for the most part in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, are published with a commentary by A. Touttée, O.S.B., in MG 33. They consist of three parts: (a) a procatechesis, an introductory lecture, which stresses the importance of the act for which the catechumens are to prepare themselves; (b) a course of eighteen instructions delivered during Lent *ad illuminandos* (to the catechumens) on baptism and penance (1-3) and on the Creed (4-18); and (c) a series of five mystagogical discourses (19-23) delivered *ad illuminatos* (to the neophytes) during Easter week, dealing with the three sacraments (or mysteries) of baptism, confirmation, and the Eucharist. A better edition of the mystagogical catecheses is found in J. Quasten, *Monumenta eucharistica et liturgica vetustissima* (Bonn 1935) 71-111. For the difference of opinions regarding the authenticity of these mystagogical catecheses, see Quasten, *Patrology* 3.364-66.

¹⁰ Theodore was a close friend to whom Chrysostom addressed two urgent exhortations (*Ad Theodorum lapsum*, MG 47.277-316) which succeeded in bringing Theodore back to the monastic life which he had temporarily abandoned. Theodore's baptismal catecheses, long lost because of his eclipse as a theologian under suspicion of heresy, have been recently recovered in a Syriac translation and published by A. Mingana in *Woodbrooke Studies* 5 and 6 (Cambridge 1932 and 1933). This work is more generally available in R. Tonneau and R. Devreesse, *Les homélies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste* (*Studi e testi* 145, Vatican City 1949). Of the sixteen homilies, 1-10 explain the Nicene Creed, 11 explains the Our Father, 12-14 treat of baptism, 15-16 are on the Mass. Subsequent references to Theodore's catecheses will be made to the latter work under the abbreviation SeT.

¹¹ MG 49.221-40. See esp. the *Monitum* (*ibid.* 221-22). These will be hereinafter referred to as Montf. 1 and 2, and the particular place

will be noted by both the columns of Migne and the paragraph numbers given in my translation.

¹² Cf. Baur 1.259-83. The homilies *De statuis* are found in MG 49.15-222 and are followed immediately by the two catecheses *Ad illuminandos*.

¹³ Montf. 1.46 (MG 49.231A).

¹⁴ *Varia graeca sacra*. *Sbornik grečeskikh neisdannikh bogoslovskikh tekstov I-IV věkov* (St. Petersburg 1909). This is a collection of hitherto unedited Greek theological texts dating from the fourth to the fifteenth century. Chrysostom's homilies are discussed briefly in the Introduction (xx-xxv) and the text itself is given on pages 154-83. This work will hereinafter be referred to as *Var. gr. sac.* Although it has remained practically unknown in the West, at least three American universities (Chicago, Harvard, and Illinois) have copies. A. Ehrhard reviewed the work in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 20 (1911) 257-61.

¹⁵ Cf. A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche* 1 (Leipzig-Berlin 1936) 272-73. The MSS. of the Synodal collection are now in the Moscow Historical Museum.

¹⁶ Baur makes no mention of *Var. gr. sac.* in his exhaustive bibliography.

¹⁷ Cf. Gen. 40.14.

¹⁸ Although Montf. 1 really belongs to the series in *Var. gr. sac.*, Papadopoulos-Kerameus does not reprint it, since he considered it sufficiently well known. Hence, we shall continue to call it Montf. 1 and refer to it by volume and column of Migne. The second and third homilies of this series will hereinafter be referred to as PK 2 and 3. The paragraph numbers are those found in the translation; page references to the Greek text in *Var. gr. sac.* are also given.

¹⁹ See Wenger 34. Wenger found the comment among Montfaucon's notes and took it as proof that the best critics can be the first victims of their own excessive rigor. Montfaucon must have known the sermon in *codex Colbertinus* 365, which is today Paris B.N. gr. 700. Had he examined it at some other time, it might not have been committed to the anonymity of a catalogue number. Although the Latin version is published in almost all of the sixteenth-century editions, Montfaucon's judgment must have had its effect, since this sermon does not appear in any of the seventeenth-century Latin editions.

²⁰ MG 95.1070-1588. Sebastian Haidacher has made a study of the question of its indirect transmission by way of the florilegia and the Latin version in three articles: "Neun Ethica des Evangeliumkommentars von

Theodor Meliteniotes und deren Quellen," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 11 (1902) 370-87; "Chrysostomos-Fragmente im Maximus-Florilegium und in den *Sacra parallela*," *ibid.* 16 (1907) 172-73; and especially, "Eine unbeachtete Rede des hg. Chrysostomus an Neugetaufte," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 28 (1904) 168-86.

²¹ Baur (1.220-21) feels that Chrysostom's preparation never consisted in learning a sermon by heart.

²² The Stavronikita sermons will hereinafter be designated as Stav. 1-8, with additional reference to the paragraphs as found in Wenger's text. For the postbaptismal character of Stav. 4-8, see n. 2 on Stav. 4 below.

²³ In presenting these twelve instructions of Chrysostom, the Stavronikita series of eight will be presented in their proper sequence; these will be followed by Montf. 1, PK 2 and 3, which are really the first three of the Papadopoulos-Kerameus series, of which the fourth appears as Stav. 3; in the last place will be Montf. 2, the sole survivor of its series. Although these twelve will be numbered consecutively, it may be more profitable to read them in the following order: Stav. 1, Montf. 1, Stav. 2, PK 2 and 3, Montf. 2, and Stav. 3-8, or, following the numbering of this volume: 1, 9, 2, 10-12, and 3-8.

²⁴ Wenger 48-59.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 48.

²⁶ Stav. 3, the Easter homily. The external evidence consists of a Latin translation from the early fifth century which attributes the sermon to Chrysostom; fragments of the Greek text found in the *Sacra parallela* of John Damascene (MG 95.1276D-77A; 1433C-D; 96.17A-B); an extract in a MS. florilegium in Strassbourg's public library (*codex graecus* 12 folio 75 verso) bearing the title: *From the Mystagogical Discourses of Chrysostom to the Neophytes*, Sermon 3. Recall that this sermon stands third in the Stavronikita series, although fourth in that of Papadopoulos-Kerameus. Also cf. n. 20 above.

²⁷ Cf., e.g., on Stav. 1, n. 14; on Stav. 2, n. 13; on Stav. 3, n. 20; on Stav. 4, n. 12; on Stav. 5, n. 9; on Stav. 6, n. 38; on Stav. 7, n. 3; and on Stav. 8, nn. 29-31.

²⁸ This argument may seem weak, but it is worth noting that of fifty-five spurious sermons printed in Migne, only five show the proper terminal formula; in three of these five cases, it is thought that the second half of the spurious sermon, and hence the final formula, truly belongs to Chrysostom. This would mean that there are only two clear-cut cases out of fifty-five where the terminal trade-mark is found on a forgery. Perhaps Wenger is right when he says the strength of this argument is far from negligible (*op. cit.* 57).

²⁹ See above 10-11.

⁸⁰ Cf. *De regressu ex Asia* (MG 52.421-24): "But we yearned, you say, to celebrate the Pasch with you" (422D); "I was not present when you were baptized" (423B). This homily has thus far been published only in a Latin translation. Wenger (59 n. 3) mentions a ninth-century MS. of the Greek text which he was planning (1955) to publish in a volume entitled *Compléments à l'édition des oeuvres de saint Jean Chrysostome*.

⁸¹ *Dialogus* 9 (MG 47.34). Cf. Baur 2.287-91.

⁸² Stav. 2.29; 5.26.

⁸³ It is true that languages other than Greek were spoken at Constantinople, as in any great metropolis. In fact, Chrysostom himself says to the people of Constantinople in the second of the *homiliae undecim novae*, *Homilia dicta postquam reliquiae martyrum* etc. (MG 63.472A): "For you have led forth countless choirs chanting the songs of David, some singing in Latin, others in Syriac, others in the tongue of the barbarians, and others in Greek." The "barbarian" tongue is almost certainly Gothic. Goths were numerous in the capital, and many of them served in the imperial armies. However, the Goths were foreigners, whereas in Stav. 8.1-6 Chrysostom is not addressing foreigners but the people from the countryside of Antioch, where Syriac was spoken. See n. 4 on Stav. 8.

⁸⁴ *De mart.* (MG 50.646D): "Do not consider their barbarian tongue [Syriac] but look to their mind, which has been molded by sound doctrine. For what is the benefit of speaking the same tongue if there is a division of minds? And what harm is there in speaking different tongues when there is a unison of faith?"

⁸⁵ Cf. Baur 1.180, who gives the date of Chrysostom's ordination as February 16, 386, which also marks effectively the beginning of his preaching career.

⁸⁶ Wenger 63. Notice that the sermons on Genesis are not the same as the homilies on Genesis.

⁸⁷ Cf. his *Monitum* in MG 49.221-22.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 222, and cf. Baur 1.259-83.

⁸⁹ *Op. cit.* 64-65.

⁹⁰ Montf. 1, that is, PK 1 (MG 49.229D).

⁹¹ Baur 1.285.

⁹² MG 53.98D.

⁹³ *Hom. in Gen.* 1 was given on the eve of Lent, and 2-11 on the first ten days of Lent. Montf. 1 was very likely given on the same day as *Hom. in Gen.* 11.

⁹⁴ MG 53.305.

⁹⁵ MG 51.65-112.

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.* 65.

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.* 1.289. However, Baur points out that the Matthew commentary is a literary product rather than a series of delivered sermons. Of course, they may have originally been preached and then later revised to their present form.

TEXT

THE FIRST INSTRUCTION

(Stavronikita 1)

¹ This Instruction is about the longest of all Chrysostom's discourses on baptism and is clearly intended for those who, at the beginning of Lent, had enrolled themselves to receive baptism at Easter. In this Instruction Chrysostom looks on their enrolment as an enlistment in the army of Christ; he addresses the new recruits in a discourse which explicates the meaning of baptism by comparing it to a spiritual marriage, which gives a summary exposition of the faith and creed, and which exhorts the candidates to practice the Christian way of life. The spiritual marriage has its contract, which consists of renouncing Satan and entering into the service of Christ, but this can be grasped only by the eyes of faith, and faith is the foundation of piety. In the Creed they profess faith in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, three distinct Persons but of equal dignity. If they believe in God and practice virtue, they need fear nothing; Christ's yoke is sweet and His burden light. They must renounce the vanities of the world, riches, garments of silk, and ornaments of gold. Cosmetics do not add to feminine beauty, and their use implies dissatisfaction with the Creator's handiwork. All must avoid the practices of superstition, which are pomps of Satan, as are also oaths, the racecourse, the theater, and the circus games. They must avoid these and show that they deserve the name of Christians.

If there were any question as to the genuineness of this and the following homilies, the first paragraph of this discourse, so typical of Chrysostom, should dispel all doubt. Here we find his almost invariable method of development: (a) an affirmation often linked with an image or supported by a comparison; (b) proof of the affirmation drawn from Scripture, most often from St. Paul; (c) a conclusion and further developments by which the thought progresses. This framework is almost invariable in Chrysostom, as are the formulas by which he introduces his proof ("and that you may learn"), and those by which he draws his conclusions ("did you see how . . . ?"; "do you see that . . . ?").

The affirmation here shows a slight modification ("it would be no blunder . . ."; "one would not be wrong . . .") to which Chrysostom always has recourse when he enunciates an unusual proposition, a paradox, or a bold comparison. The proof and conclusion are in the classic

manner. Although the parchment is damaged right at the conclusion and almost completely illegible, it is possible to read the usual "Did you see" and the word for "image" or "simile."

As is the style, the vocabulary too is typical of Chrysostom. His eloquence is rarely terse or concise. He loves the sound of accumulated words and synonyms. Most often the groups of verbs, adjectives, or nouns are in pairs of synonyms. This paragraph offers several of these pairs, which are echoed elsewhere in Chrysostom's works, e.g., "joy and gladness of the spirit" (Stav. 2.31; *In prin. act.* 3 [MG 51.97A]; *De stat.* 21 [MG 49.211A]; *Hom. in Gen.* 1 [MG 53.23B]); "love and longing" (Montf. 1.1 [MG 49.223A]; *Hom. in Gen.* 20 [MG 53.172A]); "marvelous and most extraordinary" (*In 1 Cor.* [MG 51.249C; *ibid.* 250A]).

² 2 Cor. 11.2. Cf. Montf. 2.14 and *ibid.* n. 30.

³ Eph. 6.11.

⁴ Cf. Luke 15.7.

⁵ The lacuna of some dozen words can be restored with a fair degree of confidence. We expect an *argumentum a fortiori*, and the last part of the word "powers" is legible; the grouping of angels, archangels, and powers above is a familiar one with Chrysostom. Cf. *De perf. car.* (MG 56.286D).

⁶ Chrysostom compares baptism to a spiritual marriage. The perspective, however, is sacramental rather than mystical. The spouse of Christ is the Church, formed from the side of Christ. On the personal level, each soul becomes the spouse of Christ by baptism, which makes it a member of the Church and a sharer in all its prerogatives. This application of the quality of spouse to the individual seems to occur only in his mystagogical instructions, e.g., Montf. 1.3 (MG 49.223D): "Such are the Bridegroom's gifts"; Montf. 2.18 (MG 49.234B): "Beloved, you are invited to a marriage." PK 3 (*Var. gr. sac.* 166 ff.) offers a considerable development of this theme, starting with the exordium. Chrysostom passes easily from the personal level to that of the Church. Thus, in the Catechesis just cited, he points out that the law of marriage is that the bridegroom come for the bride. "But in the case of Christ and the Church, the marvel is that . . . He deigned to come to our nature. He put aside His Father's home in heaven . . . He took to Himself a body, He hastened to His bride" (*ibid.* 3 and n. 7). Chrysostom seems to join the Church, human nature, and individual men into one common perspective.

⁷ The incomparable kindness of God is a favorite theme with Chrysostom. He sees manifestations of God's goodness on every page of sacred history, and this is the clear lesson of his great commentary on Genesis.

⁸ 2 Cor. 11.2. Cf. Montf. 2.14 and *ibid.* n. 30.

⁹Ps. 44.11-12. The explanation of this passage is found in Chrysostom's *Exp. in ps. 44* (MG 55.199-202), which is inspired by the same symbolism and which shows some similar terminology. But in the commentary on the Psalm, Chrysostom's perspective is more profound. There his theme is Christ and the Church, and he explains how she who became His bride was first His daughter; in fact, He regenerated her by baptism before taking her as His bride. The rejection of idolatry is the condition for pleasing God.

¹⁰Ps. 44.11-12.

¹¹Both here and in *Exp. in ps. 44* (MG 55.200C) Chrysostom makes it quite clear that it is not a question of carnal love but of spiritual beauty. The commentary on Ps. 44 says: "But that you may know that he is not talking of bodily beauty, the Psalmist says that it consists of obedience, and this is beauty not of the body but of the soul. For if you will do this, he says, you will be beautiful and lovable in the eyes of your Bridegroom."

¹²Chrysostom formulates here one of the principal ideas of his moral preaching. Nature's laws are immutable, whereas the will is free. As long as the soul is in this world, it can fall at any moment or lift itself up again. If this were not so, there would be no point to Chrysostom's strong reprimands and warnings to those who have fallen into serious sin after baptism. He does not hesitate to affirm that, in conversion, all depends on the sinner, but he would scarcely deserve to be accused of Pelagianism. He simply did not appreciate the part played by God's grace at each stage of conversion. Chrysostom's hearers, either at Antioch or Constantinople, ran much less risk of succumbing to Pelagian pride than to the passivity and laxity of those who referred everything to the will of God. In a homily preached during Holy Week, Chrysostom declares that too many catechumens hesitate to take the step and receive baptism; they say: "If God wills it, He will persuade me and I will be converted." Chrysostom replies: "You are right to call on the will of God. This is clear: He wills all men to be saved, but He forces no one. Hence, it depends on you to see that God's will is fulfilled" (cf. *De mut. nom.* 4 [MG 51.141-44, especially 143C-44B]). In many places Chrysostom maintains the freedom of man and the primacy of the will and free choice in the work of conversion and salvation. For the immutability of nature, cf., e.g., *Hom. in Gen.* 19 (MG 53.157D); for the freedom of the will and the dependence of everything on that freedom, cf., e.g., *ibid.* (159A).

¹³Cf. Ps. 44.11-12.

¹⁴The soul which is invited to become God's bride must forget its entire past, just as in marriages of the flesh. The betrothed forgets her

parents and her father's home, to be united to a bridegroom whom she has never seen. We must not be surprised at this situation, which, in the social environment of the fourth century, was quite usual. The marriage was arranged between the man and the parents of the prospective bride; the betrothed couple never saw each other before the marriage night, when the groom came with great pomp to seek his bride at her parents' home and to lead her to his own. For the young bride the marriage involved a complete change in her way of life and was, indeed, "a great mystery." Cf. also *In Eph.* 20 (MG 62.140B-C and 141D-42B); *Qual. duc. ux.* (MG 51.230A).

¹⁵ Eph. 5.31-32.

¹⁶ Chrysostom attests the practice of the groom coming to seek his bride at night also in PK 3.1 (*Var. gr. sac.* 167): "This is the custom for the bridal procession—to give over the brides to their bridegrooms late in the evening." In *Prop. forn.* (MG 51.211-13) Chrysostom describes the abuses common at marriage feasts. He opposes the custom of having choruses and pantomime actors at the feast and says it would have been better to invite the poor instead. With the poor, Christ comes into the house; with the actors, comes the devil. Cf. also *In 1 Cor.* 12 (MG 61.103-5).

¹⁷ Gen. 2.23-24.

¹⁸ Chrysostom describes the intimacy of the union with the same progression in *In Eph.* 20 (MG 62.142D).

¹⁹ Matt. 19.6.

²⁰ Eph. 5.32.

²¹ Comparison with the realities of sense is one way to put us on the path to the knowledge of spiritual realities. God avails Himself of sensible realities to give us gifts of spiritual goods. This principle is fundamental to Chrysostom's sacramental theology.

²² The dowry is the contract of obedience. The same idea is found in PK 3.26 (*Var. gr. sac.* 173): "Instead of a dowry, contribute these words [the renunciation of Satan and the covenant with Christ] and He will consider your wealth as great."

²³ Eph. 5.25-27.

²⁴ There is a magnificent commentary on this text in PK 3.4-10 (*Var. gr. sac.* 167-69).

²⁵ "Imitating His own goodness." This expression refers here to Christ. It does not mean, as one unfamiliar with Chrysostom might be tempted to believe, that in Christ, the man acts by imitating the goodness of God. This would be a kind of pre-Nestorian Nestorianism. In Chrysostom, this expression refers most often to God Himself, and it is almost an epithet of His nature. In all the works of Providence or, as the theologians say, in

all the *operationes ad extra*, God does act in imitation of His essential goodness. Cf., e.g., *Hom. in Gen.* 17 (MG 53.136D); *ibid.* 18 (151D and 156D); *ibid.* 19 (158D). See also Stav. 2.29 and 4.11.

²⁶ Eph. 5.27.

²⁷ This expression marks the part man plays in co-operating with God in the work of salvation. It is a favorite with Chrysostom, who uses it frequently in these catecheses. Cf. Stav. 2.1; 4.6, 10, 11, 31; 5.19; 7.4, 10, 24; Montf. 1.11.

²⁸ Rom. 10.10.

²⁹ The statement of faith is extremely brief. The article on God the Father affirms the incomprehensible character of God, the free nature of creation, and the paternity of God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. The term "Lord" used here and shortly after in the article on the Son is unusual with Chrysostom and is due to the formula of faith. He almost always says "Master."

³⁰ Although the article on the Son is again quite restrained, it is more explicit. Chrysostom teaches that the Son is consubstantial with the Father, while being a distinct Person. The mystery of redemption is formulated in three articles which are inspired by the Nicene Creed and that of Constantinople: "Propter nostram salutem . . . et homo factus est . . . crucifixus . . . resurrexit tertia die."

³¹ John 5.21.

³² At the end of the fourth century, the quarrels over the divinity of the Son which had occupied almost the entire century were gradually subsiding. The gross Arianism which considered the Son to be a creature had been vanquished, but a more subtle form of this error remained among the Anomoeans and the Homoiousians of every kind, who all denied the perfect consubstantiality of the Son with the Father. Chrysostom does not enter any controversy with them but simply affirms that the Son is like in substance to the Father. Nor does he wish anyone to fall into the error of Sabellius, who confused the divine Persons. In *De sac.* 4 (MG 48.667B-C) there is a similar passage where Chrysostom says it is difficult to keep the golden mean between the contrary doctrines: Sabellius denies the distinction of Persons, Arius admits that the Persons are distinct but denies the divinity of the Son; we must admit the three Persons but only one divinity. The proof which Chrysostom offers is a simple one: the names revealed by God show that the Persons are distinct, for the Father is not the Son, nor is the Holy Spirit either Father or Son.

³³ Matt. 28.19. The article on the Holy Spirit is still more moderate than the preceding articles. The reason for this might be that the followers of Macedonius (who denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit) were less active in Antioch, where these instructions were given, than in Con-

stantinople. Chrysostom affirms the divinity of the Holy Spirit on the evidence of the baptismal formula. In *De s. Pent.* 1 (MG 50.465C) Chrysostom says that those who dispute the divinity of the Holy Spirit fail to consider the words of our Lord in Matt. 28.19. He then goes on to say: "You have seen the equality in honor, the most perfect concord, the indivisibility of the Trinity." For the Macedonian heresy, cf. G. Bardy, "Macédonius et les Macédoniens," DTC 9.2 (1927) 1464-78.

³⁴ It is characteristic of the heretic to introduce his own ideas into the dogmas of the Church. Cf. *Hom. in Gen.* 9 (MG 53.76B); 12 (*ibid.* 100A).

³⁵ Chrysostom here states that baptism remits all sins, even the gravest, in almost the same words as in Montf. 1.16 (MG 49.226C).

³⁶ Ps. 36.27.

³⁷ Matt. 11.28-29. This passage should be compared with *In Matt.* 38 (MG 57.431-37).

³⁸ Cf. *ibid.* 431A and *Hom. in Gen.* 2 (MG 53.27B-C). Chrysostom is very fond of enumeration by antithetical groups.

³⁹ Cf. *In Matt.* 38 (MG 57.432A-C) where Chrysostom quotes Ps. 37.5 (*as a heavy burden have my iniquities become heavy upon me*) and Zach. 5.7, who compares the weight of wickedness to a talent of lead. In this same place again Chrysostom explains the gravity of sin by the remorse to which it gives rise in our conscience.

⁴⁰ Conscience, the incorruptible judge, the tormentor of sinners, is a commonplace with Chrysostom. Cf., e.g., *Hom. in Gen.* 17 (MG 53.135B-C); *In Matt.* 25 (MG 57.327C); *De Laz.* 4 (MG 48.1011-13); Stav. 6.10.

⁴¹ Matt. 11.29.

⁴² John 18.23.

⁴³ John 8.49.

⁴⁴ The expression "to undermine another's marriage" is a commonplace with Chrysostom. Cf., e.g., *Vidi dom.* 3 (MG 56.116A) and *In Matt.* 88 (MG 58.780B). The verb *διopύρρειν* literally means to dig through and, hence, to break in (as a thief). Cf. Matt. 6.19-20 and Luke 12.39.

⁴⁵ Matt. 5.28.

⁴⁶ Eccli. 28.22. A different reading of the same text is found in Montf. 1.30 (MG 49.228D), where Chrysostom discusses the number and enormity of sins of speech.

⁴⁷ Cf. Gal. 5.19-20.

⁴⁸ Cf. Gal. 5.22-23. Chrysostom omits faith from the Pauline list apparently through an oversight, since he has the complete list in his commentary *In Gal.* (MG 61.674A).

⁴⁹ The lessons of piety are the Sacred Scriptures, which are a sure cure

for the ills of the soul. For the notion of chanting them as incantations, see *De mut. nom.* 4 (MG 51.146B), where Chrysostom says that even though we sing incantations from Holy Writ against our passions, we barely succeed in repressing these shameless beasts.

⁵⁰ Silken garments and the thread of worms, literally. This pairing occurs also in *Hom. in Gen.* 18 (MG 53.150A) and in *In prin. act.* 1 (MG 51.66-68D), where Chrysostom says: "Is it because of silk garments? Do you not know that these are the threads of worms and inventions of barbarous men?"

⁵¹ 1 Tim. 2.9. This is the classic text cited against the luxurious adornment of women. Cf. Montf. 2.42-3 (MG 49.238A-B).

⁵² 1 Tim. 2.10.

⁵³ This program for Christian living seems to have been inspired by the monastic ideal.

⁵⁴ F. Field, in the *index verborum* to the homilies *In Matt.*, gives for the word *ἐπιρλίμνα* the meanings *fucus*, *pigmentum*, and adds: "Cum hac significatione centies a Chrysostomo positum, in Lexicis ad hunc diem desideratur" (MG 58.937-38). *Ἐπιρλίμνα* is usually, as it is here, associated with *ὀπογραφή*. Cf. *In Matt.* 6 (MG 57.69B), 20 (*ibid.* 287B), 30 (*ibid.* 368D). *Ibid.* 369B gives some details on the cosmetics and colors used in Chrysostom's day. While addressing the husband who has succeeded, by his affectionate urging, in correcting his wife in this matter, Chrysostom concludes: "If you mold the face of her soul so that it is beautiful, you will not see her bodily face ugly with blood-red lips, with a mouth like the blood-smeared mouth of a bear, with eyebrows covered with soot as if from a pot, and with cheeks powdered like the walls of a tomb." This last indicates a pale yellow, an ochre tint, according to *In Matt.* 20 (*ibid.* 287A).

⁵⁵ "The house of prayer" is the church or public oratory as opposed to the basilica. Cf. H. Graef, *St. Gregory of Nyssa: The Lord's Prayer, The Beatitudes* (ACW 18) 192-93 n. 134, and H. Leclercq, "Oratoire," *DACL* 12.2 (1936) 2346-72. Cf. also Chrysostom, *De Anna* 4 (MG 54.668C): "the thief [on the cross] did not stand in a house of prayer." *Ibid.* (667C): "Let us not seek an excuse by saying that there is no house of prayer in the neighborhood." In *Stav.* 6.13 the church is called the house of God.

⁵⁶ "To make confession in atonement for your sins" does not mean sacramental confession. *Ἐξομολόγησις*, confession, is opposed to *ἄρνησις*, denial. Chrysostom is singularly unspecific on the practice of auricular confession. Cf. Baur 1, 361-62. For exomologesis in Tertullian, cf. *De paenitentia* 9-12 in W. P. Le Saint, S.J., *Tertullian: Treatises on Penance* (ACW 28) 31-37, together with the pertinent annotations.

⁵⁷ To suffer shipwreck in port is proverbial. Cf. *In Matt.* 26 (MG

57.342B-C) and *ibid.* 15 (235C): "Nothing could be more miserable than when you suffer shipwreck in port."

⁵⁸ The list of omens is repeated and enlarged elsewhere in Chrysostom. The cawing of crows, squeaking of mice, and creaking of beams is found in an as yet unedited homily found in the Stavronikita MS. Cf. A. Wenger, "La tradition des oeuvres de saint Jean Chrysostome," *Revue des études byzantines* 14 (1956) 5-48, esp. 42. For people as omens, cf. Montf. 2:53-59 (MG 49.239D-40A) and below 337 n. 77.

⁵⁹ Zach. 8.17.

⁶⁰ Isa. 58.6. Chrysostom comments on this text in *In Matt.* 56 (MG 58.555D), calling interest and usury "unjust contracts."

⁶¹ Matt. 5.33-34. This short invective against oaths is much less violent than what one usually hears from Chrysostom on this subject. Almost all the homilies *De stat.* have a passage against this abuse. The catecheses in the Papadopoulos-Kerameus series show this same preoccupation, and in PK 2 the second part (18-30, *Var. gr. sac.* 162-66) is entirely devoted to showing the danger of oaths. Montf. 1.39 (MG 49.229B-C) points out that the habit of calling God to witness was so general that it even included the clergy.

⁶² Invectives against the hippodrome races and theatrical productions are familiar to the reader of Chrysostom. More rare are mentions of the circus games and gladiatorial combats.

⁶³ This same notion of a thunderbolt striking the sinner's head is found also in *Prop. form.* 1 (MG 51.216D) and in *Sal. Prisc.* 2 (*ibid.* 204B). In all these instances it is a threat of the punishment deserved by serious sins. In PK 2.22 (*Var. gr. sac.* 164) it is the punishment which must be feared by a Christian who permits dancing in his home. From this we may conclude that Chrysostom considered dancing in the category of serious sins. Cf. *ibid.* and notes 68-72.

⁶⁴ These instructions were delivered at Antioch, where the name of Christians was first given to the disciples of Christ (Acts 11.26). The faithful of Antioch were well aware of this honor. In *In Matt.* 8 (MG 57.81B-C), Chrysostom says: "When it is a question of the privilege of front seats [at the theater], you think you take precedence over the whole world because your city was the first to take to itself the name of Christians; in the contest of chastity you are not ashamed to take second place to less urbane cities." These words come at the conclusion of a tirade against the abuses of the theater. In *In prin. act.* 2 (MG 51.86D) he says: "It was right for the city which took to itself the name of Christians before the rest of the world to take the first of the apostles as its shepherd." In *De stat.* 17 (MG 49.176B-D) he points out that even though Antioch has lost the title "metropolis of the East," it still has its true title

to fame: its faithful were the first to be called Christians, an honor which no other city, including Rome, can claim.

⁶⁵ The comparison with imperial symbols is a favorite with Chrysostom. Cf., e.g., *Stav.* 3.14; 4.17 and 18; *De perf. car.* (MG 56.286D-87B); *De laud. s. Pauli* 7 (MG 50.507D).

⁶⁶ Cf. *Lev.* 26.12.

⁶⁷ Chrysostom says in *In Matt.* 19 (MG 57.282B): "(The devil) is called the wicked one par excellence because of his excessive evil and because he wages war against us without truce, even though we have done him no harm." The name of devil comes to him from his chief activity, slander. He is the leader of the demons, and Chrysostom often links them together in the phrase "the devil and his demons." The theme of the conflict with Satan runs through the catecheses; especially is this seen in the prebaptismal rites. Cf. J. Daniélou, S.J., *The Bible and the Liturgy* (Notre Dame, Ind. 1956) 21; F. J. Dölger, *Der Exorzismus im altchristlichen Taufritual* (Paderborn 1909).

⁶⁸ The comparison of the soul to rich and fertile soil is a commonplace with Chrysostom. Cf., e.g., *Hom. in Gen.* 13 (MG 53.105B).

THE SECOND INSTRUCTION

(Stavronikita 2)

¹ The second Instruction continues the first and describes the ritual of Christian initiation. The first was delivered toward the beginning of Lent (probably on the tenth day, if we may argue from an analogy with the series of Papadopoulos-Kerameus); this discourse was the last of the prebaptismal instructions and was delivered shortly before baptism. The catechumens must have received other instructions from other teachers but, it would seem, not in the form of catecheses. In this Instruction Chrysostom shows the goodness of God even in His dealing with Adam after the Fall; he explains the rite of exorcism and addresses the sponsors on the gravity of their obligations. Next he describes the renunciation of Satan and the covenant with Christ, the prebaptismal anointings, and the ritual of regeneration, giving us in each instance the sacramental formula used at Antioch. Chrysostom tells us, too, that as the neophytes come forth from the bath, they partake of the body and blood of the Master; but he does not here expatiate on this mystery, nor does he mention the postbaptismal anointing of confirmation. He ends by recommending to the catechumens that they pray for the peace of the Church, the return of those who have strayed, and the conversion of sinners.

The titles given to the homilies are due either to the tachygrapher, who

has given a quick indication of his subject matter, or to the editor (who might have been the author himself or someone else to whom the author had furnished the titles of the works he was to publish), or, finally, to copyists of a later period. All the catecheses of the three series have these brief summaries except the first and third of the Stavronikita series, and the third of the series of Papadopoulos-Kerameus.

² The opening words *ἦρε δὴ πάλιν* are found as the *incipit* of some thirty of Chrysostom's homilies, and most of these belong to his days in Antioch. Nine of the homilies of the commentary on Genesis begin with these words. The catecheses bear a marked resemblance to this commentary in both style and moral content.

³ The precise meaning of *εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἀπογράφεσθαι* is not clear. The verb means "to register oneself" and is used with the preposition *εἰς* in the sense of registering for (i.e., entering) a contest in the games or registering with the taxiarch for military service. In Stav. 1.20, the same expression occurs (only the *ἴδιον* is there *πνευματικόν*, spiritual) and was translated in the military sense, since baptism is a "marvelous and most unusual kind of military enlistment" (cf. Stav. 1.1) and since the profession of faith which immediately follows the "registration" might have been associated in Chrysostom's mind with the military oath. This interpretation takes *ἴδιον* as an adjective modifying an unexpressed noun (e.g., *στράτευμα*, army). If *τὸ ἴδιον* is a noun, it could mean "property," and the whole expression might be translated "those who have registered themselves among the property of Christ." But since in the very next clause the registrants are shown the weapons they are to receive, any meaning but the military one seems impossible. Wenger (133 n. 1), however, thinks otherwise.

⁴ Chrysostom's reasoning is that if God honors with His gifts those who have not yet done any meritorious deeds, with all the more reason does He grant His grace to those who receive the first grace with gratitude. The same idea occurs in Stav. 1.47 and 4.6, and there is an explicit instance of this proposition in *Hom. in Gen.* 28 (MG 53.255C-D), where he says: "Therefore, let us not be ungrateful. And yet, in His judgment, we deserve this great honor even before we have shown forth any good deed but rather deeds worthy of punishment; if we are grateful and give thanks for what we have already received and are converted to a better life, how great is the honor which He will again deem that we deserve?" Cf. also Montf. 1.11.

⁵ Note the fulness of the first part of the comparison. The play on words (many . . . many . . . many) is even more effective in the Greek and must certainly have been intentional.

⁶ The second part of the comparison goes back to the moral principle

formulated in the preceding paragraph: God anticipates our good will with His gifts.

⁷ The story of Adam illustrates God's goodness to the human race. This rather long treatment of Adam's fall and punishment is quite in keeping with the Lenten season, during which the catechumens were instructed. It was during the Lent of 388 that Chrysostom preached many of the homilies which constitute his commentary on Genesis. It is not surprising that he returns to this familiar theme in the catecheses.

⁸ The word *ἀκράτεια*, lack of self-control, self-indulgence, is not used here in the sense of a weakness or imperfection of nature after the fashion in which Irenaeus and Gregory of Nyssa speak of the first man in Paradise. Chrysostom excludes this meaning, which is inspired by a philosophy which is foreign to him. For him, the word means quite simply the intemperance of the belly. Cf. *Hom. in Gen.* 1 (MG 53.23C), where Chrysostom says that Adam was overcome by the intemperance of his belly.

⁹ "Leap any farther away" is used probably in the sense of "be rebellious." See Lucian, *De mercede conductis* 23.

¹⁰ *Ἀρεσις*, ease, is a condition which Chrysostom dreads, particularly for the soul. Ease almost always begets laxity and enervates the soul. Cf. *In act. apos.* 24 (MG 60.188B): "like a flowing discharge, ease enervates the soul." Cf. also Stav. 5.15, 16, 17; 6.1.

¹¹ Cf. Eccli. 33.29.

¹² Gen. 3.19.

¹³ Chrysostom cites this aspect of Adam's punishment in several places, e.g., *Con. Jud.* 8 (MG 48.929); *In Matt.* 61 (MG 58.590B-C); *Hom. in Gen.* 18 (MG 53.152B). The similarity is most striking in *De sub. virg.* (MG 47.497D), where he says: "When He wished to punish Adam, He did not settle him far off from Paradise, but nearby, that he might have continuous punishment from the sight of the place for which he yearned and from the fact that, although he could always see it, he was forbidden to enjoy it." Cf. also *De Laz.* 2 (MG 48.987C).

¹⁴ The devil made man picture himself as equal to God. Chrysostom uses these words habitually in describing Adam's sin. Cf., e.g., *In Matt.* 15 (MG 57.224D) and *Hom. in Gen.* 18 (MG 53.151A).

¹⁵ Chrysostom gives God's reasons for acting this way toward man in *Serm. in Gen.* 7 (MG 54.614C-D): "You lost Paradise, but God gave you heaven, that He might prove His own kindness and that He might sting the devil, showing that, even if he should weave ten thousand plots against the human race, it will not avail him, since God always leads us to greater honor. You lost Paradise, and God opened heaven to you; you were condemned to toil in time, and you were honored with life in

eternity. God commanded the earth to bring forth thorns and prickly plants; the soil of the Spirit has brought forth fruit for you. Do you see how the profit is greater than the loss?" Notice that this passage ends with exactly the same words as does the present paragraph. The word translated as "profit," *εβροπία*, must have that meaning in both passages, although it generally means abundance, plenty, easy means of providing, etc. Cf. E. des Places, review of Wenger, in *Revue des études grecques* 71 (1958) 486.

¹⁶ Matt. 25.29.

¹⁷ This very likely refers to the catechumen's enrolment in the register of the church. Cf. Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Cat.* 12.16 (SeT 347-49).

¹⁸ The mysteries of initiation rest on visible realities. Words and actions serve to represent the invisible realities, which only the eyes of faith can see. Chrysostom has already said in Stav. 1.31 that faith gives us other eyes, which can see things invisible to our sense of sight.

¹⁹ Heb. 11.1.

²⁰ The eyes of the spirit grasp the spiritual reality of the mysteries of initiation. There is a parallel passage in PK 3.12 (*Var. gr. sac.* 169). The conclusion is the same in both places: it is God who baptizes. In the present Instruction it is the grace of the Holy Spirit; in PK 3 (*ibid.*) it is the only-begotten Son of God.

²¹ The question arises as to who is the minister of baptism. In PK 3.12 (*ibid.*) the visible minister is called *ιερεύς*, priest, while the invisible minister is *ὁ ἀρχιερεύς ὁ μέγας*, the great high priest. It seems clear that the contrast is between the great High Priest in heaven, Christ, and the great priest on earth, the bishop. In the present passage of Stav. 2, the visible minister is called the first time *ἀρχιερεύς*, bishop, and the second time *ιερεύς*, priest, and acts conjointly with the invisible minister: here, the grace of the Spirit. There is no need to believe that Chrysostom names the bishop at one time and the priest at another as the minister of baptism. In each case he means the bishop. The term *ιερεύς* was no more clearly defined than its Latin counterpart *sacerdos*, which is applied to both priests and bishops. In *De stat.* 21, Bishop Flavian is frequently called *ιερεύς*, (e.g., MG 49.211D; 212C; 213A-D). This lack of precision also makes it difficult to know who the minister is in the different rites of baptism.

²² Chrysostom says nothing of the consecration of the baptismal water mentioned in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (7.43), by Theodore of Mopsuestia (*Cat.* 14.9 [SeT 419-21]), and by Cyril of Jerusalem (*Cat. de baptismo* 3 [MG 33.429]), but he does insist on the sanctification of the water by the grace of the Spirit. Cyril (*ibid.*) gives a reason for this: man's nature is twofold and requires a twofold cleansing, spiritual for the spirit and material for the body. The water cleanses his body; the

Spirit seals (σφραγίζει) his soul. In PK 3.13 (*Var. gr. sac.* 169) regeneration comes from water and the Spirit, but it is Christ who initiates the baptizand into this regeneration. PK 3.12 (*ibid.*) points out that our bodily eyes see the water, our eyes of faith see the Spirit; our bodily eyes see the priest, our eyes of faith see the great High Priest, the only-begotten Son of God, who is the one who baptizes. Cf. J. Quasten, "The Blessing of the Baptismal Font in the Syrian Rite of the Fourth Century," *Theological Studies* 7 (1946) 309-13.

²³ The doctrine on baptism as a death and resurrection is a common one with the Fathers. See *Apostolic Constitutions* (7.43); Gregory of Nazianzus (MG 36.369B); Ambrose, *De sacr.* 2.20 (Botte 66); Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat.* 20 (MG 33.1081B-84B), as well as PK 2.8-11 (*Var. gr. sac.* 158-59). Cf. Daniélou, *Bible and Liturgy* 44 ff., 81, 178, 181.

²⁴ Cf. Col. 3.10.

²⁵ Gal. 3.27. For a commentary on this text, cf. n. 16 on PK 3.

²⁶ After urging the catechumens to fortify themselves with the eyes of faith, Chrysostom explains in order the principal rites of baptism. This Instruction overlaps to some degree the contents of PK 2 and 3. Sometimes the parallelism is quite extensive.

²⁷ "We send you along to hear the words of the exorcists." Almost the identical words are found in Montf. 1.11 (MG 49.225B) and in PK 2.14 (*Var. gr. sac.* 160). The time is also the same, that is, after the daily instruction. The *Peregrinatio Etheriae* tells us that the custom in fourth-century Jerusalem was for the catechumens to come to the church daily at Prime and that the first order of the day was for the candidates for baptism to be exorcised by the clerics. Cf. H. Pétré, *Ethérie: Journal de voyage* (Sources chrétiennes 21) 257, and J. Daniélou, *Bible and Liturgy* 23.

²⁸ Just who "those appointed to the task" were is not clear. Cyril of Jerusalem does not specify either. A. Touttée, O.S.B., has a lengthy but valuable note on Cyril's *Procatechesis* (MG 33.347B-48B) which merits translation *in toto*. "Those to be baptized had already received exorcism, as the following words testify, where Cyril mentions that their faces were veiled. By the reception of exorcism Origen (*Contra Cels.* 3.142) distinguishes those who were being prepared to receive baptism in the near future from those who had recently become catechumens and had not yet received the sign of purification, for that is exorcism. Exorcisms were employed frequently during the Lenten season, as is clear from the place just cited and from another similar instruction (*Cat.* 1.5) and from the thirteenth chapter of this *Procatechesis*. He says that the exorcisms were collected from the Scriptures and by this means was avoided the fault which Athanasius criticized in his letter to Marcellinus (*De psalmis* 33)

in the case of certain people who were omitting the scriptural formulas which the host of demons cannot stand because the Lord is present in these words, and were using other formulas composed of persuasive words from other sources and thus were making themselves a mockery in the demons' eyes. Those salutary words in the exorcisms contained rebukes for the devil wherewith the exorcist of demoniacs wrestles with the devil (*Cat.* 16.19). [The rebuke consisted of] prayer and invocation of the name of God, which were used both in the exorcism of demoniacs and in that of the oil (*ibid.* and *Cat.* 20.3), and from these we may make a legitimate conjecture about the exorcism of those to be baptized: [the rebuke also consisted of] the invocation of the Crucified and the sign of the cross (*Cat.* 4.13; 13.3 and 18). Breathing on the person was used not only to signify the power of the Holy Spirit by whose power they became exorcists (*Cat.* 16.18) and as a sign that the demon had been scorned, ejected, and burned, but also to destroy and remove sins (*Procat.* 9; *Cat.* 20.3). The exorcist breathed three times upon the face and into the ears according to Canon 7 of the Council of Constantinople. Exorcism became the cause of putting the demon to flight and of cleansing the soul from sin. It was believed in both the Latin and Greek Church that the powers of the adversary make their nests in the bodies of those who have not yet been baptized and that right up to his baptism a man was subject to the dominion of the devil (*Cat.* 19.4). Hence, a very effective proof for original sin was derived from the exorcisms and insufflations which were used on infants. See Augustine, *Ep.* 194.46. But to prevent anyone from thinking that the demon is wholly put to flight by exorcisms or that the soul is freed from its sins before the actual reception of baptism, Cyril in many places (but especially in *Cat.* 3.2 and 12 and in *Cat.* 20.4) teaches that we die and are released from our sins only in the waters of baptism. To be sure, he attributes the remission of sins to a good many other causes, such as a change in one's way of living (*Procat.* 4), confession of one's sins (*Cat.* 2.15, 19, 20), fasting (*Cat.* 3.7), the renunciations by which he teaches that the old pacts with hell are destroyed and that heaven is opened to us (*Cat.* 19.9), the exorcized oil wherewith the body was usually anointed before immersion in the waters (*Cat.* 20.3), and, finally, to the grace of the Holy Spirit who comes to us after baptism (*Cat.* 17.1, 15). Just as this grace perfects the remission of sins given in baptism, so do exorcisms, fasting, and the other things just mentioned dispose the soul in various ways to receive this grace.

"Cyril nowhere states who the ministers of the exorcisms before baptism were. There is no doubt that the baptizing bishop was the minister of the exorcisms of the oil and the baptismal water. *Cat.* 20.3 and *Cat.*

16.18 seem to attribute the exorcisms of demoniacs to holy men and to those who were equipped for this by a special gift of the Holy Spirit, and we must believe that they received ordination and promotion from the bishop according to canon 20 of the Council of Laodicea and canon 10 of the Council of Antioch. But we see that the exorcisms of those to be baptized were sometimes performed by deacons (cf. the letter of the clergy of Apamea against Peter in act. 5 of the Council of Constantinople under Mena). Ordinarily priests exorcised the catechumens." According to Etheria, the ministers were clerics (cf. n. 27 above). Wenger, too, thinks that the exorcists belonged to an ecclesiastical *taxis* or rank of the clergy ordained for this function. Cf. *op. cit.* 78.

²⁹ Chrysostom does not record the "awesome words" of exorcism, nor is the precise formula found in either Theodore or Cyril. A formula found in the Barberini *Euchologion* and edited by F. C. Conybeare in *Rit. Arm.* 392-93 may be translated as follows: "God the holy one, whom we regard with terror and hold in high esteem, incomprehensible in all His works and strength, inscrutable, has predestined thee, O Satan, for the vengeance of eternal punishment. Through us, His worthless servants, He bids thee and every power that works with thee to stand aloof from these who have just been signed [with the sign of the cross] in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, our true God. I adjure thee, then, O all-wicked, unclean, defiled, loathsome, and hostile spirit, [I adjure thee] by the might of Jesus Christ, who has all power in heaven and on earth . . . go forth and depart from those who are being prepared for holy baptism. I adjure thee by the saving passion of our Lord Jesus Christ and by the price of His body and blood and by His dread advent; for He shall come upon the clouds . . . judging all the earth and condemning thee and the power that works together with thee to the Gehenna of fire, handing thee over to the external darkness where the worm never sleeps and the fire is never quenched."

³⁰ This is a favorite theme with Chrysostom. The Church makes no distinction of persons in the Christian initiation and in the celebration of the mysteries. Chrysostom loses no opportunity to emphasize this and to draw profit from it to the honor of the Church. PK 2 does not mention this lack of distinction in connection with exorcism, but it is found in PK 3.21 (*Var. gr. sac.* 171) at the time of the renunciation of Satan and the covenant with Christ. There is a beautiful parallel passage in *In 1 Cor.* 10.1 (MG 51.247A-B): "In the Church there is no distinction between slave and free, foreigner and citizen, old and young, wise and foolish, private citizen and king, female and male. Men and women of every age and condition go into that bath of [baptismal] waters in the same way; kings and peasants enjoy the same cleansing. This,

above all others, is the greatest proof of the nobility among us, that we initiate in the same manner the beggar and the prince." Again, in an Easter sermon, *De res. dom.* (MG 50.437), Chrysostom shows that often in the Church the poor man is preferred to the rich; if the poor man has been baptized, he is admitted to the mysteries, whereas an unbaptized rich man is excluded; if both be baptized, the poor man is received at the sacred table, whereas the rich man, if he is undeserving, is turned away despite his riches. It must be admitted that these passages are not free from facile rhetoric. However, in a fourth-century society which had scarcely emerged from paganism and in which the social structure rested on the inequality of classes, the announcement that in the Church there were neither Greeks nor barbarians, neither slaves nor free, was practically equivalent to a social revolution.

⁸¹ Chrysostom here describes the attitude of the catechumens. PK 2.14 (*Var. gr. sac.* 160) mentions the same details but adds that the catechumens are naked (*γυμνοί*). The term *γυμνός* often means "without an outer garment," and that this is the meaning here is attested by Montf. 1.11 (MG 49.225B), where the catechumen goes to the exorcist barefoot and naked except for a single short garment. Theodore of Mopsuestia has these same details, adding that the catechumen stands silent while the exorcist, his advocate, pleads his cause, and that he stands on sackcloth to remind him of his sins and those of his fathers. Cf. SeT 361. The custom of standing on sackcloth has been studied by J. Quasten, "Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Exorcism of Cilicium," *Harvard Theological Review* 35 (1942) 209-19. Cf. below, n. 61, where Proclus of Constantinople also refers to sackcloth in the baptismal ritual.

⁸² PK 2.14-15 (*Var. gr. sac.* 161) speaks at greater length on the theme of the future captivity to the yoke of Christ.

⁸³ In Theodore the sponsor plays an important role both in the registration of the catechumen and in his subsequent instruction. The sponsor's name is also entered in the register, and he becomes the baptizand's guide in the city and the leader of his citizenship therein. Cf. SeT 347. After the ceremony of renunciation of Satan and attachment to Christ and after the priest has signed with chrism the forehead of the kneeling baptizand, his sponsor, who has been standing behind him, spreads an *orarium* (stole) on the crown of his head and helps him to his feet. The *orarium* is a sign that the baptizand is now freed from his servitude to Satan, because only freemen could wear a head linen. Cf. *ibid.* 399-401. Although Chrysostom is not so specific as Theodore, his address to the sponsors in this passage shows their importance, and it is not unlikely that they played an important part in the ritual at Antioch. Although

Cyril seems to make no mention of sponsors, the *Peregrinatio Etheriae* makes it clear that they did figure in the preparatory process in Jerusalem. Etheria points out that, after the exorcism every morning, an instruction was given by the bishop, around whom sat in a circle the catechumens and their sponsors. Cf. Pétré, *Ethérie* 257, 259.

³⁴ Chrysostom gives here the sponsors' official name, *ἀναδεχόμενοι*, "those who receive," which is a counterpart to Tertullian's term to designate the newly-baptized, *suscepti*. The word also designates those who take upon themselves a burden, sureties or guarantors, and as such applies both to the world of commerce and to the spiritual world.

³⁵ Eccli. 8.16. "The wise man counsels" is Chrysostom's usual way of citing a text from the sapiential books. Cf. *In Eph.* 2 (MG 62.135A); *Vidi dom.* 3 (MG 56.117D); Stav. 5.5.

³⁶ The sponsors are called "spiritual fathers" and their godchildren "spiritual sons." This testimony to these titles seems to be unique, but it is nonetheless quite interesting. In Byzantine Greek the term "spiritual father" means a director of souls and, later, a confessor.

³⁷ After the rite of exorcism, Chrysostom comes to the solemn ceremony of the renunciation of Satan and the covenant with Christ. PK 3.19 (*Var. gr. sac.* 171) states that this ceremony took place at three o'clock on Good Friday afternoon. Stav. 2 does not specify the time but hints that it occurred on Saturday afternoon, since there is no evidence of any time interval between the ceremonies of the renunciation and covenant, anointing on the forehead, anointing of the entire body, and baptism. These last two were certainly on Saturday night. In Stav. 2.18 Chrysostom recalls the time when he renounced Satan and made his covenant with Christ; he begs the candidates for baptism to pray for him, since they are about to meet the King, and he speaks as if the renunciation and covenant were closely followed by baptism. Arguing from this, Wenger proposes the theory that the renunciation and covenant originally came very shortly before baptism and occurred then in 372 A.D., when Chrysostom was baptized, and in 390(?), when, with good probability, the Stavronikita series was delivered (cf. Wenger 65 and 80). Later, because of the large number of candidates and in order to give proper prominence to an important part of the initiation, the ceremony of the renunciation and covenant was moved up to Friday afternoon (Wenger 80), where it is in the Papadopoulos-Kerameus series. This would logically make this latter series later than that of Stavronikita, despite the reasons brought forward by Wenger to date the Papadopoulos-Kerameus series in 388 (cf. Wenger 64). The *Ordo* of Constantinople published by Conybeare in *Rit. Arm.* 438-42 puts the ceremony on Friday; the unedited Vatican MS. (*Ottobon. graec.* 175) of this same *Ordo* specifies the time as the

sixth hour, a detail which is not found in the printed edition. In Jerusalem this ceremony seems to have occurred shortly before baptism (MG 33.1063B), as was also the case in the instructions of Theodore (SeT 371). Hence, in all cases except PK 3.19 this ceremony seems to have taken place on Saturday shortly before baptism. For Jerusalem and Syria, see J. Quasten, "Die Ostervigil im Testamentum Domini," in *Paschatis sollemnia*, ed. B. Fischer and J. Wagner (Freiburg i. B. 1959) 87-95.

³⁸ The term "mysteries," which Chrysostom usually reserves for the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, here means the sacred actions which play a part in the initiation proper. The first action is the renunciation of Satan and the attachment to Christ, which is equivalent to a contract between Christ and the soul. Notice that Chrysostom is keenly aware of the secondary meaning of faith, i.e., a deposit in trust. A contract is made between the client and the trustee, and this contract is called faith. However, Chrysostom quickly moves to the spiritual sense of the word, adherence to the unseen. For a discussion of this term, cf. H. Graef, *St. Gregory of Nyssa: The Lord's Prayer, The Beatitudes* (ACW 18) 187 n. 65.

³⁹ This almost certainly refers to the ceremony of renunciation and attachment. The fact that the contract is called "faith" gives rise to the question: When did the *redditio symboli* take place? Etheria says that the catechumens received the Symbol after five weeks of instruction, during which the Creed was explained to them phrase by phrase (Pétré, *Ethérie* 259). Theodore says that after the exorcisms the catechumen is brought to the priest and before him makes his engagements and promises to God. These deal with faith and the Creed, he says (SeT 363 and 369). Jerusalem had the unique custom of delivering the Symbol at the beginning of Lent (MG 33.451A), explaining it throughout the holy season (*ibid.* 505B) and receiving it at various times (e.g., *ibid.* 1042B), and after the compact with Christ (*ibid.* 1063A). Chrysostom is not clear on the *redditio symboli*. Wenger (144 n. 1) thinks it possible that the present passage refers to the *redditio*, although he notes that in all the Byzantine and Syrian *ordines* the profession of faith follows the compact with Christ. However, he points out (93-94) that PK 3.15 (*Var. gr. sac.* 170), in a passage which is not the clearest, says: "Therefore, my sermon today is called *faith*, and I entrust nothing else to you until you shall say: *I believe*." This statement of faith, made on Holy Thursday, may be the *redditio symboli*. In *In 1 Cor.* 40 (MG 61.347D-49), in discussing "baptism for the dead" (1 Cor. 15:29; cf. B. M. Foschini, "Those Who Are Baptized for the Dead": 1 Cor. 15:29. An Exegetical Historical Dissertation [Worcester, Mass. 1951] esp. 64-67, 78-79), Chrysostom hints that the profession of faith immediately preceded the

baptism itself. Cf. also *In Col. 6* (MG 62.312C-D), which also suggests that the profession of faith immediately preceded baptism.

⁴⁰ The kneeling posture and upstretched hands are also mentioned in PK 3.21 and by Theodore, who states that the initiate first stands on sackcloth while his outer garment is removed. Then he kneels but holds the rest of his body erect and looks toward heaven (SeT 369-73).

⁴¹ Notice that the candidates were led in by the priests, but that the priest asks for their contract and confession. The priest would probably be the bishop. PK 3.4 (*Var. gr. sac.* 172) speaks of "those who are initiating you," but Wenger considers this to be a generalizing use of the plural (*op. cit.* 144). Theodore specifies that those who prepare the candidates to recite the words are deacons (SeT 373).

⁴² Theodore (*ibid.*) hints at what Chrysostom clearly states, namely, that the candidates are asked for their contracts one by one. In the *Ordo* of Constantinople, the bishop asks the questions of the candidates in a group.

⁴³ There is a similar digression at this same point in the ritual in PK 3.23 (*Var. gr. sac.* 172).

⁴⁴ Chrysostom merely expresses the formula without explaining it. That this is the Antiochene formula is made clear by two other catecheses, although neither gives the full formula. PK 3.22 and 24 (*Var. gr. sac.* 172) merely say: "I renounce thee, Satan"; Montf. 2.48 (MG 49.139A) adds: "and thy pomps and thy service." *In Col. 6* (MG 62.342C) substitutes "and thy angels" for "and all thy works," but this is probably the formula used in Constantinople, since this sermon was delivered in the capital city of the Empire. Cf. Baur 2.93. Proclus may be giving the full Constantinopolitan formula, for he mentions both the works and the angels of Satan in an unedited catechesis preserved in an uncial MS. of the eighth or ninth century, *Sinaiticus graecus* 491, which has been described by A. Wenger in *L'Assomption de la t. s. Vierge dans la tradition byzantine du VI^e au X^e siècle. Etudes et documents* (Paris 1955) 96-99. The formula is still more developed in Theodore, where one reads: "I renounce Satan and all his angels, and all his service, and all his vanity, and all his worldly glamor" (SeT 367). In Cyril the formula reads: "I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy works, and all thy pomps, and all thy service" (*Cat.* 19.4-8 [MG 33.1068C-73C]). As in the *Ordo* of Constantinople, the ritual at Jerusalem was conducted by question and answer.

⁴⁵ The pomps of Satan are listed in PK 3.25 (*Var. gr. sac.* 172) and in Montf. 2.52 (MG 49.239C-D). The similarity of these lists to that given by Theodore (SeT 389) makes it clear that the pomps of Satan are the "worldly glamor" of Theodore. Cyril's list is much the same but

includes foods and things which have been soiled by the invocation of impure demons; cf. *Cat.* 19 (MG 33.1069C-71A). Daniélou (*Bible and Liturgy* 26, 28-29) notes that the renunciation of Satan seems to be directly connected with the renunciation of idolatry and, hence, that this ritual must have originated in the Christianity of the missions rather than with the Jewish converts. This would explain why the images of the rite and the sins which constitute the pomps are more closely connected with paganism than with Judaism.

⁴⁶ This bears a close resemblance to the sentiments expressed in the *Ordo* of Constantinople. Cf. Conybeare, *Rit. Arm.* 439-40.

⁴⁷ The renunciation of Satan is closely followed by the adherence to Christ. Chrysostom makes no mention of a change of posture on the part of the candidates. The same formula, "and I enter into thy service, O Christ," is found in PK 3.24 (*Var. gr. sac.* 172), Montf. 2.60 (MG 49.240D), and *In Col.* 6 (MG 62.341D). For Theodore, the adherence to Christ seems to constitute the act of faith necessary for baptism; his formula reads: "and I engage myself by vow, and believe, and am baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit" (SeT 367). The adherence to Christ was not only an act of faith but a commitment for life (Daniélou, *Bible and Liturgy* 33 n. 34). Chrysostom considered this ritual so important that it should not be omitted even from clinical baptism; cf. Montf. 1.9 (MG 49.225A). Although neither Theodore nor Chrysostom mentions anything about the orientation of the candidate, it seems not unlikely that he turned to the west to renounce Satan and to the east to make his pledge to Christ. Cyril is very specific on this point (*Cat.* 19 [MG 33.1073B]), as is also the *Ordo* of Constantinople (Conybeare, *Rit. Arm.* 439-40). Daniélou discusses the symbolism of orientation in *Bible and Liturgy* 30-33. See especially F. J. Dölger, *Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit und der Schwarze* (Münster 1918) 1-18.

⁴⁸ The problem of the *redditio symboli* again arises. Cf. above, n. 39.

⁴⁹ Unlike Cyril and Theodore, Chrysostom recognizes two anointings: first, on the forehead, and second, of the entire body. Both Stav. 2.22 and PK 3.27 (*Var. gr. sac.* 173) specify that the first anointing immediately followed the covenant with Christ, which, according to PK 3.19 (*ibid.* 171), took place on Friday at the ninth hour. The priest who performs the anointing would seem to have been the bishop (cf. Wenger 91), whose ministerial role is emphasized in PK 3.27 (*Var. gr. sac.* 173), where Chrysostom insists that it is God Himself who anoints by the hand of the priest. PK 3 (*ibid.*) also points out that the oil of the spirit was a mixture of olive oil and unguent; the unguent is for the bride, the oil is for the athlete. That the sign (*σφραγίς*) was the sign of

the cross is clear from the same passage. For the *σπαργίς* cf. F. J. Dölger, *Sphragis* (Paderborn 1911); Daniélou, *Bible and Liturgy* 54-69.

⁵⁰ This formula is the same as that given by Theodore (SeT 419), but in Theodore it is the formula for the anointing which immediately precedes baptism. We may assume that the formula is the same for both anointings.

⁵¹ We may assume that this second anointing takes place in the night of Holy Saturday, because it seems to have been followed immediately by baptism.

⁵² Stripping off the garments is symbolic of stripping off the old man of sin and mortality (Cyril, *Cat.* 20.2 [MG 33.1077A]; Theodore, *Cat.* 14.8 [SeT 417]), and of a return to primitive innocence (Cyril, *ibid.* 1080A; Theodore, *ibid.*). Cf. Daniélou, *Bible and Liturgy* 35-41. Cf. PK 3.28 (*Var. gr. sac.* 174), where the garments of Adam and Eve are the garments of sin and shame. The same catechesis also specifies that the priest or bishop (cf. above, n. 21) removes the candidate's garment (*ibid.*), a service which the candidate performs for himself in Cyril and Theodore. Cf. also Chrysostom, *In Col.* 6 (MG 62.342A-B), which is quoted in n. 48 to Stav. 3. For a study on the "garment of immortality" and the baptismal rite, cf. J. Quasten, "A Pythagorean Idea in Jerome," *American Journal of Philology* 63 (1942) 207-15 (discussion of Cyril's passages).

⁵³ These words seem to make it clear that the bishop does not anoint the body. Baur (1.84) says that the men were anointed by deacons, the women by deaconesses, and refers to *In Col.* 6 (MG 62.342), but there is no mention in this place of either deacons or deaconesses. In Chrysostom's time, however, there were deaconesses in the Church. Cf. *In 1 Tim.* 11 (MG 62.553D). Theodore says that the anointing was performed by those appointed for this service (SeT 419) without specifying who they were.

A deaconess in the early Church was not, properly speaking, ordained, nor did she exercise properly ministerial functions; cf. Epiphanius, *Haer.* 79.3 (MG 42.744-45A); W. P. Le Saint, ACW 13.121-22. "Her most important function was the assistance at the baptism of women, at which, for reasons of propriety, many of the ceremonies could not be performed by the deacons" (*The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F. L. Cross [London 1957] 377). The patristic texts have been collected by J. Mayer, *Monumenta de viduis, diaconissis virginibusque tractantia* (Florilegium patristicum 42, Bonn 1938).

⁵⁴ The anointing has the double symbolism of healing the soul of all trace of sin and of strengthening the soul for its conflict with Satan. The oil is both a remedy for the sick and a preparation for the athlete.

Daniélou (*Bible and Liturgy* 40) quotes from Brightman (*Journ. Theol. Stud.* 1 [1899-1900] 264) a prayer from the Euchologion of Serapion for the consecration of the baptismal oil which reads as follows: "We anoint with this oil those who are approaching the divine re-birth, praying the Lord Jesus Christ to impart to it a power to heal and to strengthen, and, by its means, to heal, in the body, the soul, the spirit of those who are to be baptized, freeing it of every trace of sin and iniquity, so that they may have the strength to triumph over the attacks of hostile powers." Cyril has the same symbolism but adds that the oil was exorcised and that the oil is symbolic of the true olive tree, Jesus Christ. He says: "Then, stripped in this wise, you were anointed with exorcised oil from the top of the hairs of your head to your feet and you became sharers in the true olive tree, Jesus Christ. After you had been cut away from the wild olive tree, you were grafted onto the good one and became sharers in the richness of the true olive tree. The exorcised oil, therefore, was a symbol of your partnership in the richness of Christ, a charm which puts to flight every trace of the power which opposes us. Just as the breathing of holy men upon you and the invocation of the name of God, like a raging fire, burns and puts to flight the demons, so also this exorcised oil, by the invocation of God's name and by prayer, receives such power that it not only burns and cleanses away every trace of our sins but also puts to flight all the unseen powers of the wicked one" (MG 33.1080A-B). For Theodore, the anointing symbolizes the covering of immortality which will come to the recipient with his baptism (SeT 419).

⁵⁵ The ritual of immersion is rich in symbolism. The baptized person puts off Adam and puts on Christ. He is buried and rises again, renewed in the image of his Creator. The parallel between Adam and Christ and between baptism and the creation of man is found often in the Fathers. Cf. Daniélou, *Bible and Liturgy* 42-49.

⁵⁶ Chrysostom insists on the ministerial function of the priest or bishop; cf. PK 3.12-14 (*Var. gr. sac.* 169-70). Wenger (96) maintains that this is at the heart of Chrysostom's sacramental theology. The descent of the Holy Spirit is accomplished by the words of the priest and his gesture as he touches the head of the initiate. Chrysostom must be thinking of the scene at the Jordan when Christ was baptized and the Holy Spirit descended upon Him; cf. PK 3.13 (*ibid.*). The Holy Spirit achieves the interior transformation of the neophyte, who arises from the water a new and different man. "Truly great is the power of baptism; it makes those who share in the gift different men from the men they were" (*In act. apos.* 23 [MG 60.181C]). Baptism through water and the Spirit is emphasized by Cyril in *Cat.* 3.4 (MG 33.429A-B).

⁵⁷ The formula is the standard one and is found again in PK 3.14

(*Var. gr. sac.* 170) with the same explanation. It is also found in Theodore (SeT 433), who also emphasizes the ministerial function of the priest; just as previously the formula was "So-and-so is signed," here, too, the priest does not say "I baptize," but "So-and-so is baptized," to show that a mere man cannot give such benefits as only divine grace can bestow. In this way the priest refers immediately to the One who signs and baptizes, namely, the Trinity. The priest only reveals the Cause, God, whose servant and subordinate he is. The triple immersion is symbolic of Christ's three days in the tomb. Cyril (*Cat.* 20 [MG 33.1080C]) says: "Just as our Saviour spent three days and nights in the womb of the earth, so do you imitate by your first emersion the first day which Christ spent in the earth and by your immersion you imitate the night. For just as the man who is abroad at night sees nothing, while he who is about by day is in the light, so in the immersion you saw nothing as at night, but by the emersion you found yourselves as it were in the daylight. At the same moment you died and came to birth; that saving water was both your tomb and your mother." Chrysostom has this to say in *In Joh.* 25 (MG 59.151A-B): "Divine symbols are perfected [in baptism]: burial and death, resurrection and life and all these happen at the same time. As we submerge our heads in the water as in a tomb, the old man is buried, and as he goes down he is once and for all and entirely hidden; then, as we lift up our heads, the new man comes forth. Just as it is easy for us to be immersed and to lift up our heads again, so is it easy for God to bury the old man and show forth the new. This takes place three times, that you may know that the power of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit brings all these things to fulfilment." See a similar passage in *In Col.* 6 (MG 62.342-43A).

⁵⁸ Again the emphasis on the ministerial function of the priest. In *In Matt.* 50 (MG 58.507D) Chrysostom says: "When [the priest] baptizes you, not he but God Himself touches your head with an unseen power; neither angel, nor archangel, nor any other dares to approach and touch you." It is God who begets us in this divine rebirth, and He wishes us to have none other as father.

⁵⁹ *Τερακται* is the same verb used with reference to "those appointed to the task" of exorcism. Here it definitely specifies one belonging to a *τάξις* or rank of the clergy, and it is not impossible that the same was true of the exorcists. Cf. above, n. 28.

⁶⁰ Notice that faith is necessary even if there is no precise mention made of the *redditio symboli*. The full list of the gifts bestowed by baptism is found in *Stav.* 3.5. Elsewhere Chrysostom points out the new creature who emerges from the baptismal waters and the benefits he enjoys; in *In Joh.* 25 (MG 59.159B-C) he says: "Just as in the begin-

ning He formed a whole man, so now, too, He makes a whole man. Then He said: *Let us make him a helper* (Gen. 2.18); here there is nothing like that. What other helper does he need who has received the grace of the Spirit? What alliance, then, does he need who is perfect in the body of Christ? Then He made man to the image of God; now He makes him one with God Himself. The first man He bade to rule the fish and beasts; now He leads our first fruits above the heavens. He gave the first man Paradise for his dwelling; now He has opened heaven to us. The first man was formed on the sixth day, when the world was about to be completed; now He makes man on the first day and night, the dawn of Sunday, which marks the return of the first day, on which God said: *Be light made. And light was made* (Gen. 1.3)."

⁶¹ According to Chrysostom in *In Col. 6* (MG 62.342D), as soon as the neophyte emerged from the baptismal waters he recited the Pater Noster. Although this practice is not mentioned here, it is found in the ancient Syrian and Byzantine *ordines*. A more difficult problem at this point is that nowhere does Chrysostom mention the postbaptismal anointing in which Catholic theology today sees the sacrament of confirmation. Nor is this consignation found in the unedited MS. of the mystagogical catechesis of Proclus of Constantinople, which gives the sequence of rites as follows: "You have in yourself the meaning of the actions which have been performed on you. You appear naked, as one coming from the foe, stripped of your garment by your enemies. Your bare feet give testimony of your poverty. As one in grief, you walk on sackcloth. As one in need, you lift your hands to heaven. In this you may know how poor you are whom the Master receives, how He enriches your nakedness with His grace, how He puts on you with the chrism the odor of good deeds, how with the oil He makes you shine to brightness, how you lay aside your corruption in the grave of the bath, how the Spirit raises you up to a new life, how He clothes your body with shining garments, how the lamps you hold in your hands symbolize the illumination of the soul, how David lifts his voice for you in the victory song: *Blessed are those whose iniquities have been forgiven and whose sins have been covered over*" (cf. Ps. 31.1 and Wenger 101 n. 1).

The stripping off of garments, the prebaptismal anointing, and the baptism itself are all mentioned by Chrysostom; Proclus adds to Chrysostom's list the white robes, the lamps held by the newly-baptized, and the singing of Psalm 31, but makes no mention of a postbaptismal anointing. Cyril, however, devotes *Cat. 21* (MG 33.1087-94) to explaining this rite and its symbolism, even playing on the word "Christ," or "anointed," when he says: "Being made partakers of Christ, you deserve to be called Christs, and of you did God say: *Touch ye not my anointed*" (Ps.

104.15). Theodore, too, is specific about the postbaptismal anointing. He says: "When you have come up from [the water], you put on a very shining garment. The priest approaches, signs you on the forehead, and says: So-and-so is signed in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit" (SeT 403).

⁶² Wenger (148 n. 3) does not think that the kiss mentioned here is the same as the kiss of peace which is explained in PK 3.32 and 34 (*Var. gr. sac.* 175). He argues from a similar passage, *In prin. act.* 3 (MG 51.98A), where Chrysostom contrasts the joy of the newly-baptized with the cries of the newly-born. He says: "There are no tears here [after baptism], no laments, but greeting, kisses, and embracings of brothers who recognize their own member and receive him as if he had returned from a long journey. Before baptism he was a foe; after baptism he has become the common friend of all of us who belong to the Master, and hence we all rejoice together." But Chrysostom goes on to say that the kiss is called "peace" that we may learn that God has finished the war and received us into His friendship. Even though this kiss is called "peace," Wenger seems to be right in separating it from the liturgical pax, which is connected with the Holy Eucharist in PK 3.32.

⁶³ *Τράπεζα*, table, is generally used by Chrysostom to mean instruction in the Holy Scriptures. When it means the Eucharistic table, the context always makes this clear, as is the case here. The effect of the Eucharist is to make of the newly-baptized a dwelling of the Holy Spirit. In Stav. 3.5, Chrysostom attributes this same effect to baptism.

⁶⁴ "I anticipated the event" seems to indicate that a more explicit mystagogical instruction was given to the newly-baptized after the reception of the mysteries, as is the case with the mystagogical discourses of Cyril given in Jerusalem. However, neither Catecheses 4-8 of the Stavronikita series nor the Homilies *In prin. act.*, all delivered during Easter week, are mystagogical in character.

⁶⁵ Col. 3.2.

⁶⁶ These words are too vague to give any precise indication of when this catechesis was delivered. Its counterpart, PK 3, was given on Holy Thursday; cf. *ibid.* 19 (*Var. gr. sac.* 171).

⁶⁷ The prayers for peace among the churches and for sinners are standard. The *Ordo* of Constantinople has a similar but larger list of petitions. Cf. also PK 3.30-31 (*Var. gr. sac.* 174).

⁶⁸ *Παρηγοία*, confidence, is a favorite word with Chrysostom to describe the attitude of the soul toward God. Cf. Daniélou, *Bible and Liturgy* 39-40, and H. Graef, *St. Gregory of Nyssa* (ACW 18) 183 n. 26. Cf. also n. 9 on Stav. 4.

⁶⁹ The same expression is used in Stav. 1.17 and 4.11. See n. 25 on Stav. 1.

⁷⁰ Preoccupation with the salvation of one's neighbor is a commonplace with Chrysostom which he develops in Stav. 5 and 6.

⁷¹ "Joy and gladness of the spirit" are the words with which the first catechesis of this series begins. Cf. Stav. 1.1.

THE THIRD INSTRUCTION

(Stavronikita 3 = Papadopoulos-Kerameus 4)

¹ This third Instruction, common to both the Stavronikita series and that of Papadopoulos-Kerameus, was very likely given on Easter morning after the candidates had received baptism and the Eucharist. Chrysostom congratulates the newly-illuminated and urges them to the spiritual combat. Christ is with them and in them as they enter the arena of conflict. He not only has given them weapons but also the food of His own body and blood. Chrysostom shows them the strength of Christ's blood by showing the strength of the blood which prefigured it: the blood of the paschal lamb turned aside the destroying angel; the blood of Christ which crimsoned the lips of the newly-illuminated puts to rout the enemy of their souls. The virtue of Christ's blood comes from its origin. The centurion's lance opened Christ's side on the cross, and there flowed forth water and blood; the water is the symbol of baptism, the blood symbolizes the Eucharist. Just as Eve was formed from Adam's side as he slept, so the Church was formed from the side of Christ during the sleep of His death on the cross. Christ nourishes us with His own substance, just as the mother nourishes her newborn child. Let the newly-illuminated remain faithful to their vow to serve Christ; let them fear to fall back into sin, since there can be no second rebirth through a second baptism. The Christian has better than Moses and manna; he has Christ and the altar, the inexhaustible source of all blessings.

Like Stav. 1 and PK 3, this homily lacks a title. Cf. Stav. 2 n. 1. An unsigned English translation of this homily appeared under the title "A Newly Found Easter Homily by St. John Chrysostom" in *Worship* 35 (1960) 240-47. Reference to this translation will be made as *Worship*. Wenger's text rests on three MSS.: Stavronikita 6, *Codex gr.* 215 of the former Synodal Library of Moscow, and Paris (B.N.) *Codex gr.* 700. The Moscow and Paris MSS. belong to the same family, Stavronikita 6 to another. In several places the variants are such that Wenger feels he can speak of two recensions.

² "Blessed be God" is a favorite *incipit* with Chrysostom, occurring at

least twenty times in authentic homilies dating both to Antioch and Constantinople.

³ This comparison of the neophytes to stars is inspired by the nocturnal liturgy. In Montf. 1.16 (MG 49.226C) they are compared to the rays of the sun. In *De res. dom.* (MG 50.439C), in his closing remarks to the neophytes, Chrysostom compares them to spring flowers. "In this season of spring the earth produces for us roses, violets, and other flowers; the [baptismal] waters which come from the earth have shown us a more delightful meadow." Again (*ibid.* C-D), the newly-baptized are the fish produced by the baptismal waters whom the apostles sought to catch. In a homily delivered at the shrine of St. Thomas at Drypia, nine miles from Constantinople, Chrysostom uses a comparison which comes close to the simile of the stars found in the present discourse. During the night, Chrysostom says, the faithful carried two torches: first, the visible torches which made the procession resemble a river on fire; second, the torches of their inner fervor. "At sunrise the visible torches were obscured and grew pale, but the sunlight showed forth the interior torches in all their brightness." By the brightness of this fervor, in the dark of night, the faithful shone forth more brilliantly than the stars, even more brightly than the morning star (MG 63.470B). He goes on to say: "We looked up and saw in the midst of heaven the moon and the stars; we looked down and saw the throng of the faithful and, making her way in their midst, the Empress [Eudoxia] shining more brightly than the moon" (*ibid.* C-D)—an interesting comparison in light of the fact that Eudoxia later effected Chrysostom's exile.

⁴ This quotation is an interesting conflation of Isa. 34.4, 13.10, and Matt. 24.29, which, in the Greek text, even led to a grammatical inconsistency.

⁵ Matt. 13.43.

⁶ Matt. 3.11.

⁷ The beginning of the first sermon *In Pent.* (MG 52.803), which is listed among the *spuria*, seems to have been inspired by the two kinds of stars. It says: "Earth has today become heaven, not because stars are coming down from heaven to earth, but because apostles are ascending above the heavens. . . . There are stars in heaven; there are apostles above the heaven. . . . The stars are made of sensible fire; the apostles consist of a spiritual flame. The stars shine by night but are hidden during the day; the rays of the apostles shine forth night and day. When the sun shines, the stars do not; when the Sun of Justice shines, the apostles shine forth with their own brilliance. In the resurrection the stars will fall like leaves; in the resurrection the apostles will be snatched off in the clouds. Among the stars, one is the evening star, another the

morning star; among the apostles, there is no evening star, but all are stars of morning."

⁸ Ps. 71.18.

⁹ For all its facile rhetoric, the progression by which Chrysostom enumerates the ten fruits of baptism is a magnificent one. Chrysostom never swerves from the New Testament, and all the fruits he enumerates except the last are mentioned either in the Gospels or the Pauline Epistles: *free*: John 8.36; *holy*: Rom. 1.7; *just*: Rom. 2.13; *sons*: Rom. 8.14; *heirs*: Rom. 8.17; *brothers*: Matt. 12.50; *joint heirs*: Rom. 8.17; *members*: 1 Cor. 6.15; *temples*: 1 Cor. 3.16. Only the term "instruments of the Spirit" is not found as such in the Scripture, but it flows directly from the notion of temple, since it is the grace of the Spirit which makes us temples of Christ. Cf. PK 3.34 (*Var. gr. sac.* 175), where Chrysostom says: "The Holy Spirit has made us temples of Christ." Or, again, in *De Anna* 4 (MG 54.667C) he says that we cannot excuse ourselves from prayer because there is no house of prayer nearby, for "If we are sober, the grace of the Spirit has made us temples of God." In the present discourse (15) he calls the mouths of the faithful who have partaken of the Eucharist "doors of a Christ-bearing temple," i.e., of the temple of Christ which they have become. Also in this discourse (6) the newly-baptized have "become dwelling places for the Spirit." All these expressions are correct, and one complements the others, for as Chrysostom says, "When I say Christ, I mean also the Father and the Holy Spirit" (Stav. 4.4).

¹⁰ Ps. 71.18.

¹¹ Chrysostom often lists the different aspects of the grace of justification. In *In Matt.* 11 (MG 57.197A-B) he speaks of remission of sins, pardon from punishment, justice, sanctity, redemption, filial adoption, brotherhood, sharing in the inheritance, and abundant effusion of the Holy Spirit. In *De glor. in trib.* (MG 51.160C), after St. Paul's list of the tribulations of a Christian, we find his titles to glory: God has made us just, holy, sons by adoption, heirs of the kingdom, joint heirs with the Only-begotten. Cf. also Montf. 1.18 (MG 49.226D), where the newly-illuminated are not only clean but also holy and just. In Montf. 2.6 (*ibid.* 232C) Chrysostom says: "You are called faithful both because you believe in God and have as a trust from Him justification, sanctity, purity of soul, filial adoption, and the kingdom of heaven."

¹² "Sinless," literally "having no sins." If the plural refers to actual sins, there is no problem; this is the sense in which Augustine understood this text; cf. *Contra Julianum* (ML 44.655A). Wenger (154 n. 2) notes that Chrysostom omits remission of sin from the list of benefits granted to infants by baptism; he feels that this gives some foundation for the position that Chrysostom considered infants free from all sins, actual

and original. He points out that Chrysostom's doctrine on original sin is not too clear and admits of some erroneous elements. Chrysostom says, for example, that Cain's sin was greater than Adam's (*Hom. in Gen.* 19 [MG 53.162A-B]). He also says that, by the perfection of his virtue, Enoch regained the immortality which Adam had lost by his sin (*Hom. in Gen.* 21 [*ibid.* 180C-D]), although, to be sure, Chrysostom does distinguish between immortality *de facto* and immortality *de jure*. Again, he says that the neophyte's soul is as pure as it was at birth. When he goes on to say "even much more so," it is because the neophyte's soul possesses all the added graces of baptism; cf. *In 1 Cor.* 40 (MG 61.349B). Finally, in speaking of the little children slain by sorcerers (and, according to a popular belief, the souls of these children become the dwellings of demons), Chrysostom says: "This is not so, for the souls of the just are in the hands of God. And if this is true of the souls of the just, it is also true of the souls of the children, for neither are they wicked" (*In Matt.* 28 [MG 57.353D]). There is a good side to this, since the context hints that the children in question are the children of infidels; hence, he does not hold the Pelagian doctrine that only the children of Christian parents were free from original sin. On the positive side, there are some quite clear assertions of a debt contracted by the human race because of Adam's sin. See paragraph 21 of this Instruction and n. 42.

¹³ Although Chrysostom never loses an opportunity to attack the stadium and its games, he constantly borrows comparisons from them. See J. A. Sawhill, *The Use of Athletic Metaphors in the Biblical Homilies of St. John Chrysostom* (Princeton 1928), who has classified these metaphors under the headings of training, contests, and prizes. Cf. a similar passage in Montf. 1.28-29 (MG 49.228B-C). The striking similarity between these two passages inclines Wenger (155 n. 1) to think that the present discourse belonged originally to the same series as Montf. 1, i.e., to the series of Papadopoulos-Kerameus in which it stands as PK 4.—Here, obviously, the school for training and exercises has been the whole Lenten course of instructions prior to baptism (cf. Montf. 1, *ibid.*). Elsewhere in Chrysostom the school for training and exercise is the Church (*In 2 Cor.* 15 [MG 61.510B]), the monastery (*Adv. opp. vitae mon.* 3 [MG 47.380B]; *Ad Stag.* 1 [*ibid.* 447C]), and the home (*In Matt.* 11 [MG 57.201A-C]).

¹⁴ 1 Cor. 4.9.

¹⁵ The judges of the contest were usually men of wealth and distinction who furnished the spectacles at their own expense (cf. Sawhill, *Athletic Metaphors in Chrysostom* 31-32), and, during the sedition of 387 at Antioch, these judges were among the leading citizens whose property was confiscated by way of punishment (cf. *De stat.* 13 [MG 49.139A]).

In *In Col.* 8 (MG 62.354D) the peace of God is the judge awarding the prize. Christ acts as the judge and counsels the rich young man to sell the prizes he has for the poor and he will have a treasure in heaven (*In Matt.* 90 [MG 58.792C]). In *Fragm. in Job* 16 (MG 64.620A) Chrysostom says: "The great Judge [God] watched your contest, heard your supplications, saw your precious tears, and therefore He made clear to all men the cause of these contests."

¹⁶ Of course, the judge of the games must be impartial and just and give the prize only to him who has earned it by his toil. In *In Matt.* 65 (MG 58.621A) Chrysostom says that if two athletes who were closely connected with the judge should ask him to favor them, he would have to refuse, because the prize must go to those who deserve it for their labors and toils; to do otherwise would be to corrupt the law of the games and to disturb the order of justice. But here we see a kind of holy injustice where Christ, the Judge, is altogether on the side of His athletes in their conflict with Satan. The same idea recurs in *Montf.* 2.35 (MG 49.236D).

¹⁷ The end of this paragraph is different (and longer) in the Moscow MS., with which Paris (B.N.) 700 is in substantial agreement. The Moscow MS. reads: ". . . to keep him shackled hand and foot for the contest. 'If you see him fall, *tread upon him*' (cf. Ps. 90.13), He says. 'I saw Satan fall like lightning (cf. Luke 10.18); *tread upon him*.' But if we fall, He lifts us up and says: 'He who falls does not raise himself up, does he?' And if we sleep, He rouses us, for He says: 'Awake, you who sleep!' Do you wish to see a still greater thing? God has made heaven ready for us after our victory. 'And if you see [Satan] fall, *tread upon him*,' He says."

¹⁸ Luke 10.19.

¹⁹ Gen. 3.14.

²⁰ There is a parallel passage in *Hom. in Gen.* 17 (MG 53.141C-D): "If the devil used the serpent as his instrument in working out his plan, why did the brute instrument endure such punishment? This, too, was a work of the ineffable kindness of God. For when a loving father punishes the murderer of his son, he also destroys the dagger or sword with which the murder was done and breaks it into many pieces. The good God does the same. When that serpent, like a dagger, served as the instrument for the devil's wickedness, God brought on the serpent an unending punishment, in order that we might realize from this sensible and visible thing how great is the punishment of Satan himself."

²¹ This metaphor clashes with that of putting on armor in the next sentence. However, there would have been no inconsistency for Chrysos-

tom's hearers, who would probably have thought of stripping for the contests merely in the sense of preparing for them.

²² About three lines are omitted from the Stavronikita and Paris MSS. through homoioteleuton (similarity of endings). Fortunately, the Moscow MS. has preserved these lines, and Wenger has restored them in his text. Their content is given here between angular brackets.

²³ Papadopoulos-Kerameus does not correct what must be a phonetic spelling in the Moscow MS. and twice reads *κενός*, empty or vain, for *κινός* new, in this sentence. *Καίνός* is demanded by the sense, and the expression "a new kind of" occurs elsewhere in Chrysostom (cf., e.g., *In Mac.* [MG 50.618D]).

²⁴ The combat of man against incorporeal powers is a lesson which Chrysostom drew from St. Paul. Cf., e.g., *In Mac.* (*ibid.*): "It is not a wrestling of men against men but a strife of men against demons." *In Matt.* 6 (MG 57.71A): "A grievous conflict is at hand and our wrestling is against unseen powers." *In Eph.* 23 (MG 62.160C-D): "How do we wrestle with the darkness? By becoming light. How do we wrestle with the spiritual hosts of wickedness? By becoming good. . . . Why have we gone into battle against the spiritual powers of wickedness? Because we have an invincible ally, the grace of the Spirit. We have been taught such an art as will enable us to wrestle not against men but against spirits."

²⁵ The Moscow and Paris MSS. here read *δειλῶν*, his cowardice, which makes excellent sense with what follows.

²⁶ There is a similar passage in *In Joh.* 46 (MG 59.260D), where Chrysostom says: "Let us come away from that table like fire-breathing lions of whom the devil is afraid." The realism which is characteristic of Chrysostom's theology of the Eucharist is clearly seen in the comparisons and images of this passage.

²⁷ Paragraphs 13-18 from the Latin version are found in the Roman Breviary as the reading in the second nocturn for the Feast of the Precious Blood, July 1.

²⁸ The blood of the paschal lamb, smeared on the doorposts of the homes of the Jews in Egypt, is the classic figure of the blood of Christ. *In Joh.* 46 (MG 59.261B) has a passage reminiscent of the present paragraph: "If the type had such strength in the Hebrews' temple and in the midst of Egypt when it was smeared on the doorposts, the truth has far more strength." This whole passage is a beautiful encomium of the blood of Christ.

²⁹ Cf. Exod. 12.21-25.

³⁰ This refers to the right of asylum. In 386 a law of Theodosius had

extended this privilege to statues of the emperors. A man who had sought asylum near a statue of the emperor could not be taken away from it for ten days (cf. Baur 1.260). There was also an obverse to the coin, as Chrysostom well knew. If statues of the emperors could protect those who fled to them, they could also destroy all who showed them dishonor. No one knew this better than the people of Antioch, where the statues of Theodosius had been overthrown in March, 387. Only the noble bearing of Bishop Flavian before the Emperor saved the city from being punished as an example. Cf. *ibid.* 259–83.

⁸¹ Cf. John 19.33–34. The power of the Eucharistic blood is explained by its origin from the open side of Christ on the cross. As a follower of the literal interpretation of the school of Antioch, Chrysostom is far from the allegorical interpretation of Alexandria; his respect for Scripture, however, is such that there is no word or syllable of the sacred books which, for him, is not filled with lessons and mysteries. Hence, it is no surprise that he sees prefigured in John 19.33–34 the order of the sacraments received in initiation. What is surprising is that his citation of the text is incorrect. The Evangelist had not said *water and blood* but *blood and water*. S. Haidacher, in "Eine unbeachtete Rede des hg. Chrysostomus an Neugetaufte," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 28 (1904) 168–86, saw in this passage a contamination of 1 John 5.6: *Not in the water only, but in the water and in the blood*, with John 19.34: *There came out blood and water*. However, the reading *water and blood* occurs in several MSS. of the New Testament, and Chrysostom in *In Joh.* 85 (MG 59.463B) cites and explains the text in the same way as here: "For there came out water and blood. Not without reason nor by chance did these streams come forth, but because the Church is formed from both of these. The baptized know this who have been born again by the water and nurtured by the blood and the body." The water-blood inversion was apparently not considered by the editor of Migne to be a scriptural citation, because he does not italicize it in the Greek text. The Latin translation does italicize but restores the received order: *Exivit enim sanguis et aqua*. However, Chrysostom himself does not always quote the text in its inverted order; we find the received order in *Qual. duc. ix.* 3 (MG 51.229B).

⁸² The mysteries are the Eucharist. The term so used is not unlike our terms "Holy Communion" and "Holy Eucharist." Incidentally, Chrysostom knew and used both these terms: In *Vidi dom.* 6 (MG 56.139B) he says: "Thus the end of the fast is Pure Communion." In *In Matt.* 25 (MG 57.331B) he says: "Hence, the dread mysteries which are celebrated at every gathering are called Eucharist, because they are the commemoration of many benefits." For the term "dread mysteries" in

Chrysostom, see J. Quasten, "Mysterium tremendum," in *Vom christlichen Mysterium*, ed. A. Mayer, J. Quasten, and B. Neunheuser (Düsseldorf 1951) 66-75.

³³ In the style of Antioch, the temple means the humanity of Christ. The image would be heretical only if one were to see in the temple another person different from the Word, as Nestorius had done. Chrysostom uses the same figure elsewhere. In *In Matt.* 4 (MG 57.43B), while speaking of the formation of Christ's body in the Virgin's womb, Chrysostom asks: "How, tell me, did the Spirit mold that temple?" In *Hom.* 8 of the same commentary (*ibid.* 86A) he says: "Hence, this temple was not simply formed but there was also a swelling of the womb, a period of nine months, labor pangs, and birth. . . ."

³⁴ Titus 3.5.

³⁵ The water and blood which issue from the side of Christ symbolize more than the mysteries of Christian initiation, i.e., baptism and the Eucharist; they signify also the birth of the Church, spouse of the new Adam, formed from His side while He was asleep on the cross, just as Eve was formed from Adam's side while he slept. St. Augustine takes up the same idea in *Tractatus in Joannem* 120 (ML 35.1953). Since Augustine knew this sermon to the neophytes, he may have borrowed the notion from Chrysostom. At any rate, the idea recurs in other works of Chrysostom. In *Qual. duc. ux.* 3 (MG 51.229C) he says: "We are born of the water of baptism and nurtured by the blood. Do you see how we are of His flesh and His bones, since we are born and nurtured from His blood and the water? Just as his wife was formed while Adam slept, so, when Christ died, the Church was formed from His side." And in *In Eph.* 20 (MG 62.139B) he hints at the same interpretation, although he does not wish to express it more clearly because the uninitiated are present. He asks: "How are we of His flesh?" Then he says: "You who are sharers in the mysteries know."

³⁶ Gen. 2.23.

³⁷ Christ's death on the cross corresponds to Adam's sleep, and from this Chrysostom draws an unexpected conclusion: henceforth death is no more than a sleep. This is a commonplace with Chrysostom. Cf., e.g., *Montf.* 2.12 (MG 49.233B): "Death is not death but a sleep and repose which lasts for but a time." *De coem. et cruce* (*ibid.* 394B): "After Christ came and died for the life of the world, death is no longer called death but a sleep and repose." *In Eph.* 23 (MG 62.167B): "Death is no longer death but sleep." *In Matt.* 54 (MG 58.538A): "nor is death death but sleep." For death as a sleep, cf. A. C. Rush, *Death and Burial in Christian Antiquity* (Studies in Christian Antiquity 1, Washington 1941) 1-22.

³⁸ The comparison between Christ and a mother based on the fact that both nurture their offspring is found again in *In Matt.* 82 (MG 58.744A-B): "He Himself nurtures us with His own blood and in all things joins us to Himself." And a little further on: "He mingles Himself through the mysteries with each one of the faithful and He nurtures with Himself those whom He has begotten."

³⁹ The contract is the renunciation of Satan and the covenant with Christ. Cf. *Stav.* 2.17-21 and notes.

⁴⁰ In the *Ordo* of Constantinople we read: "The paper is your conscience, the ink is your tongue, and the pen is your posture and bearing" (cf. *Conybeare, Rit. Arm.* 439).

⁴¹ Ps. 44.2.

⁴² This is a more satisfactory statement of the Catholic doctrine of original sin than in paragraph 6 above. This and the following sentence are quoted by Augustine in *Contra Julianum* 1.6.26 (ML 44.658). Cf. above, n. 12.

⁴³ For *συγχωρεῖν* in the sense of "to pardon," cf. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat.* 2 *Exemplar alterum* 6 (MG 33.413C): "Will God pardon (*συγχωρήσει*) me? Hear what the Psalmist says: O how great is the multitude of thy goodness, O Lord (Ps. 30.20). Although your sins are piled high, they do not overcome the abundance of the mercies of God."

⁴⁴ Col. 2.14.

⁴⁵ How impressed Chrysostom was by the Pauline text can be seen from *In Col.* 6 (MG 62.340D), where he comments on this text and says: "Nowhere has [Paul] spoken in so solemn a manner." *Ibid.* (C-D) shows a progression similar to that found in the present passage: "He not only blotted it out but canceled it so that it would no more be seen." Cf. also *De s. Pent.* 1 (MG 50.462D-63A): "Canceling the decree against us, which was hostile to us. Indeed, He has taken it completely away, nailing it to the cross (Col. 2.14). Did you see how He canceled that decree? He not only canceled it but tore it to pieces, since the nails of the cross have torn it so completely that it became worthless."

⁴⁶ Chrysostom insists on the public character of Christ's triumph and of the cancelation of man's debt. Cf. *In Col.* 4 (MG 62.341B): "He died publicly, in the sight of all." *De coem. et cruce* (MG 49.398C): "Just as a noble king who has conquered a most difficult foe hangs up on a lofty trophy the breastplate, shield, and weapons of the tyrant and troops whom he has conquered, so too Christ, who has won His war with the devil, has hung all His weapons, death and malediction, high on the cross as on a victory monument, so that they may be seen by all the powers above in heaven, and men below on earth, and the wicked demons themselves who are the vanquished."

⁴⁷ This is a difficult sentence and the meaning is not clear. Chrysostom used the term *δπεύθυνος*, liable for, elsewhere (e.g., *De sub. virg.* [MG 47.498D and *ibid.* 506A]) but not in connection with *ἐπὶ τῶν δανειστῶν*. The translator in *Worship* 246 says, "those who have made us debtors and victims of their usury," meaning the evil demons. But the debt for sin is owed to God. Perhaps Chrysostom means that, through his sin, man has been under the dominion of Satan and hence his debtor. Now that man has renounced him, he is no longer a debtor to the old contract. Now the contract of our indebtedness through Adam has been destroyed; hence, the powers of evil may not hereafter assail us. There seems to be some confusion of contracts and images.

⁴⁸ There is a further confusion of contracts here, since Chrysostom says that we must now be alert to prevent a second contract. But he said above (paragraph 20) that we have made a second contract with God. In *Col. 6* (MG 62.341D-42A) clarifies this: there are two contracts, but the new one is not like the old. "Death struck Christ, but the stricken Christ later destroyed death; He who seemed immortal was loosed from a dead body, and the whole world saw it. What is wonderful is that He did not entrust this to another, but another contract was made, a new one which is not like the old. See to it, therefore, that we are not caught by this contract after we have said, 'I renounce thee, Satan,' and 'I enter into thy service, O Christ.' However, this would not be called a contract, but rather a compact. We have a contract when someone is held liable for his debts. But this is a compact, because it holds no punishment nor does it say, 'If you do this,' or 'Do not do that.' Moses spoke thus as he sprinkled the blood of the covenant, and God promised eternal life. But here everything is a compact. In the old covenant, slave dealt with Master; here friend deals with Friend. There the Lord said: *In what day soever thou shalt eat of it, thou shalt die the death* (Gen. 2.17). Immediately there were threats. In the compact there is nothing of the sort. There was nakedness then and there is nakedness now. But in the old covenant, after Adam sinned, he was naked because he had sinned; in the new, the candidate is stripped that he may be freed from sin. Adam put off the glory which once was his; now the candidate puts off the old man and, before he goes into the water, he takes off the old man as easily as he takes off his clothes."

⁴⁹ Chrysostom maintains that after baptism there is no remission of sins by a new baptism but that there is a remission of sins. He is less clear on the manner of this remission: confession to God (cf. *Stav.* 1 n. 56), repentance, tears, prayers, and almsgiving are means which win for us pardon for our sins. Texts where Chrysostom says there is no second remission of sins must be corrected by completing the bald state-

ment so as to understand that there is no second remission by a second baptism. So the conclusion of *In Col. 6* (MG 62.343A): "Just as the gifts are great, great too is the punishment. He who has fallen from Paradise cannot dwell close to Paradise, nor can we arise from where we have fallen. What comes after this? Gehenna and the worm that never dies," must be completed by other sermons, e.g., *In Heb. 9* (MG 63.80C), where Chrysostom says: "What, then, is there no repentance? Yes, there is repentance but there is no second baptism." We have a clearer statement in *De s. Pent. 1* (MG 50.463A): "The sins committed before baptism are all cancelled by the grace and kindness of the strength of Christ crucified. The sins committed after baptism require much energy that they may again be canceled. Since there is no second baptism, there is need of our tears, repentance, confession, almsgiving, prayer, and every other kind of reverence." Cf. also Montf. 1.26. It should be noted that *ἐξομολόγησις*, confession, does not imply confession to a priest (cf. Stav. 1, n. 56); rather, it is opposed to *ἄρνησις*, denial. See Stav. 8, title and paragraphs 17 and 18.

⁵⁰ The mud and the brickmaking are specified in *In Matt. 68* (MG 58.644D-45A): diabolic dances, lewd songs, the theater, etc.

⁵¹ Cf. *In Matt. 39* (MG 57.437C): "What else is gold but mud? What else is silver but straw? For silver, like straw, inflames our passion; gold, like mud, makes dirty the one who has it." *Ibid.* 89 (MG 58.786C): "Consider, then, what this gold is. Nothing but earth and ashes. Throw water on it and it becomes mud."

⁵² A similar transition is found in *In Matt. 39* (MG 57.437C): "If you will leave Egypt and go up with the Israel of the spirit, you will see all manner of marvels." The comparison between baptism and the exodus from Egypt is a common one. In *Nolo vos ign.* (MG 51.247D-50C) Chrysostom develops this comparison at length. One passage is quite close to the present one: "Where, then, is the relationship between the type and the truth? Because there all went forth as do all here; there they went through water, as do all here; because they were freed from bondage as we are freed from bondage, but not the same kind; they were set free of the Egyptians, we are set free of the demons; they were released from the bondage of barbarians, we from the bondage of sin" (*ibid.* 248B). *In Eph. 23* (MG 62.165-68) is in a similar vein.

⁵³ The marvels with which we are favored are as far above those of the Jews as Christ is above Moses. There are several parallels to this idea, e.g., *Nolo vos ign.* (MG 51.248B-D): "Do not be amazed if our marvels are greater and more excellent than those of the Jews. For this is the greatest mark of the truth, that it far excels the type, although it neither

contradicts it nor is opposed to it. What does it mean that *all were baptized in Moses*? Perhaps what is said is vague; hence, I shall try to make it clearer. At that time the sea rolled back before their eyes, and they were bidden to cross over a strange and unusual road which no man had ever crossed before. They hesitated and refused and bore it ill. Moses crossed first and made it easy for all to follow after. That is the meaning of *they were baptized in Moses*. They trusted Moses and so had the courage to enter the water, because they had him to lead the way. This is also true in the case of Christ. After He brought us back from error, after He freed us from the service to idols, after He led us by the hand into the kingdom, He was the first to open the way and to ascend to heaven. Just as the Jews had faith in Moses and dared to undertake the journey, so too let us have faith in Christ and dare to make this journey. History makes it clear that this is what is meant by *they were baptized in Moses*. For they were not baptized in the name of Moses. But if we not only have Jesus to lead us but are also baptized in His name, whereas they were not baptized in Moses' name, do not be disturbed at that. For I said that the truth must have some great and ineffable superiority [over the type]." For the Red Sea as a type of baptism, cf. Daniélou, *Bible and Liturgy* 86-98.

⁵⁴ Cf. 2 Cor. 3.18.

⁵⁵ "The new" has been added from the Moscow MS., which is supported in this by the Latin versions. The new Moses is the Bishop of Antioch, Flavian, whom Chrysostom has compared to Moses elsewhere, particularly in a sermon preached on the occasion of his own ordination to the priesthood (MG 48.697C-D). What the sentence means, then, is that Christ goes along with you not only thanks to our Bishop, Flavian, but also thanks to your own ready obedience. Although in a moment Chrysostom will compare Moses with God, and Christ will be the new Moses, the translator in *Worship* 247 seems wrong in identifying the new Moses of the present passage with Christ.

⁵⁶ Cf. Num. 12.3.

⁵⁷ In both the Paris and Moscow MSS., as well as in the Latin versions, the Moses of this passage is almost certainly the Bishop, Flavian. In fact, they read: "One would not be wrong in describing this Moses in these same terms, for indeed the spirit of meekness settles upon his lips, the spirit of meekness possesses his soul." Indeed, this may be good evidence for recognizing a second recension in these two MSS., on which the Latin versions were then based. However, in the last sentence of the preceding paragraph, God was our Moses and leader. It is more reasonable to expect a further development of this comparison, whereby our

Moses is Christ, than to revert to the earlier comparison, where our Moses was Flavian. Hence, the reading of Stavronikita 6, which is applicable only to Christ, is to be preferred. Only of Christ could it be said that the Spirit of meekness was "related to Him by consubstantiality" in the unity of the three Persons. This interpretation is in conformity with Sacred Scripture, since Christ is the prophet like to Moses whom God promised in Deut. 18.18: *I will raise them up a prophet out of the midst of their brethren like to thee [Moses]; and I will put my words in His mouth, and He shall speak to them all that I shall command Him.* Notice, however, that what follows in this paragraph is applicable either to Flavian as a priest or, in a more eminent fashion, to Christ, the great High Priest.

⁵⁸ This passage indicates that the altar was in the middle of the church and from it poured forth the streams to which the faithful flocked to refresh themselves. Chrysostom extends this image in *In Joh.* 46 (MG 59.261D-62B): "From Paradise a fountain gushed forth and sent forth visible streams; from this table a fountain gushes forth which sends out spiritual streams. By this fountain no fruitless willows grow but trees which reach up to heaven itself, bearing ripe fruit which never dries up. If someone is hot, let him come to this fountain and cool himself. It takes away our thirst, it cools all that has been seared not by the heat of the sun but by the fiery shafts [of the enemy]. For from heaven above comes the source and root by which it is fed. From this fountain flow many streams which the Paraclete sends forth; the Son is the Mediator, who does not open the road with a two-pronged tool but He opens our disposition [of soul]. This fountain is a fountain of light and it pours forth the rays of truth. By it stand the powers above, and they look upon the beauty of its streams, because they see even more clearly the power of the present mysteries and they behold their blinding brightness. If a man thrust his hand or tongue into molten gold, granted it were possible, he would straightway make them golden. So also and much more so do the present mysteries make the soul all gold. Although this fountain bubbles more fiercely than fire, it does not burn but only washes what it touches. This blood from above was prefigured in the sacrifices of the just. This is the price of the world; with this Christ purchased the Church, with this He made her all beautiful. A man who has bought slaves with gold adorns them with gold if he so wishes; so Christ has bought us with His blood and adorns us with His blood. Those who partake of this blood stand with the angels and archangels and the powers above; they are clothed with the royal robe of Christ, they hold in their hands the weapons of the spirit."

⁵⁹ None of the three Greek MSS. gives the doxology in Chrysostom's

usual manner. The Paris and Moscow MSS. omit "honor" and "power." Stavronikita 6 has an unfortunate redundancy, reading "to the Father with the Father without beginning." But the intrusion is obvious. The Latin versions preserve the proper terminal formula.

THE FOURTH INSTRUCTION

(Stavronikita 4)

¹ 2 Cor. 5.17.

² The festival of the neophytes continued at Antioch for seven days after they were baptized, as did the marriage feast in secular life (cf. Stav. 6.24). Every day the neophytes would meet for prayers, and in the course of Easter week Chrysostom would address to them a series of exhortations similar to Instructions 4-8 of the present series and Homilies 1-4 *In prin. act.* (MG 51.65-112). These exhortations have nothing in common with the mystagogical catecheses of Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat.* 19-23 (MG 33.1059-1128), which were also delivered to the newly-baptized during Easter week. Chrysostom is, in these sermons, no longer the mystagogue but a strict moralist and a master of the spiritual life. Two motives urge him to preach this new Lent of the spirit: first, he knows that human nature is never so weak as when it rests; second, the enemy of our souls is never more inclined to tempt us than when he sees the soul enriched with great treasures. Chrysostom never wearies, consequently, of preaching sobriety of the spirit (of which the monastic life is the outstanding example), scorn of this world's goods, and the contemplation of and desire for the blessings of heaven. Even if he uses different examples, St. Paul and the centurion Cornelius on the one hand, and Abraham and the holy martyrs on the other, the lesson he teaches is always the same: avoid the evil of tepidity and indifference, which is the occasion and source of every fall; establish the soul in sobriety and vigilance of the spirit. The newly-baptized must learn that it is infinitely more easy to preserve the luster of their baptism by this constant effort than to lose it by sin and then regain it by tears and repentance. It is not because he misunderstood the part of grace that he preached this morality of personal exertion, but because he understood that grace superabounds only where it finds the soul well disposed. We might have preferred that Chrysostom continue as mystagogue in these last five instructions of the Stavronikita series, but the moral teaching which he here gives is of great value; for what purpose would be served by receiving such great gifts from God if we should lose them so quickly by our carelessness?

In this fourth Instruction Chrysostom comments on the text: *If any*

man is in Christ, he is a new creature (2 Cor. 5.17). The neophytes are urged to imitate St. Paul, who was so profoundly changed by his baptism. However, God does not change the nature of the new creature but the dispositions of his will; He does not change his faculty of judgment but He does purify his eyes. Let the neophytes show themselves worthy of their baptism and avoid whatever would offend the Christ whom they have put on. May their good deeds shine more brightly than their white robes; may they be crucified to the world and show themselves worthy citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem.

What is the day of which Chrysostom speaks in the opening sentence of this discourse? Perhaps Easter day itself. The discourse would also be suited to Monday of Easter week, for the joy of the resurrection does not vanish in a single day. However, in several places Chrysostom contrasts the sad condition of yesterday with the change of today. If delivered on Sunday, we would have two Easter discourses, the first (Stav. 3) preached during the night or early morning, the second (Stav. 4) given at a later assembly of the newly-baptized on Sunday; but cf. n. 18 below. Many of the ideas expressed in Stav. 3 recur in Stav. 4, but moral teaching has completely replaced mystagogical instruction.

³ The notion of the Church as a mother is a favorite with Chrysostom in the baptismal instructions. In speaking of cases of clinical baptism in Montf. 1.5 (MG 49.224B), Chrysostom says: "They receive baptism in their beds, but you receive it in the bosom of the common mother of us all, the Church." PK 2.15 (*Var. gr. sac.* 161) says that although the captivity among men bereaves one of his mother, the spiritual captivity of baptism leads the neophyte to the common mother of us all, that is, the Church. Again, in Stav. 6.20, he says that Christians, in their love, will hasten to lead back their [wayward] brothers "to our common mother," again meaning the Church. For the Church as a mother, see J. C. Plumpe, *Mater ecclesia* (Studies in Christian Antiquity 5, Washington 1943).

⁴ Since the reception of baptism was generally reserved for the eve of Easter, the newly-baptized were certainly counted by the hundreds and, in the large cities, by the thousands. At Constantinople, in 404 A.D., there were about 3000 neophytes, as we read in Palladius, *Dialogus* 9 (MG 47.33-34). The population of Antioch was not too much smaller than that of Constantinople. In *In Matt.* 85 (MG 58.762D) Chrysostom tells us that the number of the orthodox at Antioch was close to 100,000, and this would not include Arians and schismatic groups. In *Con. Anom.* 11 (MG 48.796D), delivered at Constantinople, he hints that Antioch had the larger Christian population.

⁵ The Church is our mother because she brings us into the spiritual

world. In Stav. 3.19 Chrysostom says that Christ begets us (cf. n. 38). In *Matt.* 50 (MG 58.507D) says that it is God who begets us, but all these aspects are mutually complementary. As we read in *In 2 Cor.* 11 (MG 61.476C): "When I say that Christ is the cause of our reconciliation, I also mean the Father; when I say that the Father has given, I also mean that the Son has given." In the regeneration of baptism, man has God as his Father and the Church as his mother.

⁶ Spiritual birth is also without travail. Cf. Montf. 1.19 (MG 49.226D-27A): "Such is the loving-kindness of the divine gift that it makes men just without their sweat." In *In prin. act.* 3 (MG 51.96D) we read: "O birth pangs which are [ceremonially] pure! O spiritual births! O new offspring! There is conception without a womb, there is birth without a belly, there is childbearing without flesh, a spiritual childbearing, childbearing by the grace and kindness of God, a childbearing that is filled with joy and gladness. That former birth [in the flesh] was in no way like this, but had its beginning in laments. When the child came from the womb and was cast forth from the belly, he uttered his first sound with tears, as if to say: *And the first voice I uttered was crying as all others do* (Wisd. 7.3). Entrance into life is through laments, its beginning is in tears, as if nature were foretelling the hardships to come. Why does the child weep as he comes into the light? Because God said before [Adam's] sin: *Increase and multiply* (Gen. 1.28), which was a benediction; but His words after the sin, *In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children* (Gen. 3.16), were a punishment. Not only are there tears at birth but also swathing bands to bind you. There are tears at birth and tears at death, swathing bands at birth and swathing bands at death. From this you may know that this life ends in death and turns toward that goal. But not such is this birth [of baptism]. Nowhere are there tears or swathing bands; he who is reborn is free and ready for the contest. Hence, his feet and hands are free, that he may run and fight. There are no tears, no laments here, but the greeting, the kiss, the embrace of brothers who recognize their own member and greet him as if he were returned from a long journey."

⁷ Cf. Luke 15.7. Cf. Stav. 1.2, where the same text is cited and a similar conclusion drawn.

⁸ Cf. 2 Cor. 9.15.

⁹ No freedom to speak, *ἀπαρρησιτοί*, is the opposite of *παρρησία*, confidence, which implies a kind of holy audacity of the sinless in dealing with God; Chrysostom uses it frequently in these catecheses: e.g., Stav. 1.17, 22, 35, 47; 2.29, 30; 3.5; 7.3, 4, 27, 28. Cf. H. Graef, *St. Gregory of Nyssa* (ACW 18) 183 n. 26, who points out that in classical Greek *παρρησία* denoted political freedom, especially the freedom of speech,

claimed as their special privilege by the citizens of Athens. Of course, both meanings are combined in *ἀπαρρησιαστοί*: as slaves, they did not have the rights of citizens; as slaves to sin, they could not deal with God with confidence or holy audacity.

¹⁰ Chrysostom recalls here some of the benefits of baptism: the rank of son, remission of sins, freedom from the devil's domination, the royal robe. The phrase "rank of son" recurs in *De cruce et latrone* 2 (MG 49.407C): "Through this [cross] we who had formerly been dishonored and rejected have now been received into the rank of sons."

¹¹ Matt. 13.43.

¹² For the comparison of the newly-baptized with the stars, cf. Stav. 3.2-5, together with notes 3 and 7. Chrysostom does not wish to seem to contradict Matt. 13.43 and, hence, feels constrained to explain why the image of the sun was used in that verse. There is a parallel passage in *In Matt.* 56 (MG 58.555A-B): "Then the just will shine forth like the sun (Matt. 13.43); but they will shine forth even more brightly. Christ said this not only because their light is equal to the sun, but since we have no star brighter than the sun, He wished to use our knowledge of the sun in making known the future brightness of the just. When Matthew says of Him on the Mount [of the Transfiguration] that *His face shone as the sun* (Matt. 17.2), he spoke in that way for the same reason. For the disciples proved by falling on their faces that the light was brighter than that in the example used. If the light had not been absolute, if it had been commensurate with the sun's light, they would have endured it easily and would not have fallen (cf. Matt. 17.6)."

¹³ Gal. 3.27. For a commentary on this text, cf. n. 16 on PK 3.

¹⁴ Chrysostom does not here explain the results of our incorporation in Christ, but they are given in his commentary *In Gal.* 3.27 (MG 61.656C): "Why did Paul not say: 'All you who have been baptized in Christ have been born of God'? For this was the conclusion of the proof that they were sons. But he puts it in a much more awe-inspiring way. For if Christ is the Son of God and you have put on Christ, since you have the Son in yourself, you have become like to Him and you have been brought into one relationship (*συγγένειαν*) and into one form (*ἰδέαν*) with Him." Consequently, we are all one in Christ. Before baptism yesterday there were Greeks, Jews, and slaves; today all are in the form not of angels or archangels but of the common Master of us all, and we can see Christ in ourselves. Just as in other passages where this text is quoted (e.g., Stav. 4.16; 5.18), Chrysostom draws the same conclusion: if we have Christ within us, we must think and act in a manner worthy of Him.

¹⁵ Cf. John 14.23.

¹⁶ There is not a single instruction which does not graphically represent Satan and his demons, our subservience to them through sin, our freedom from this servitude through baptism and the mysteries.

¹⁷ "New soldiers of Christ" is a favorite expression with Chrysostom. Cf., e.g., Stav. 1.8, 18, 40; 2.8; 4.6; 5.26; *In sanctum Pascha* (MG 52.770D).

¹⁸ "The royal table" is an unmistakable reference to the Eucharistic banquet. This poses a problem. Since the newly-baptized have participated in the mysteries of the body and blood of Christ during the previous night's ceremonies, how can Chrysostom here say that they are about to enjoy the benefits of the royal table? It seems we must conclude either that this present discourse is the Easter homily (and that Stav. 3 belongs to another series, e.g., that of Papadopoulos-Kerameus; cf. n. 13 on Stav. 3 and n. 2 above) or that it was delivered on Monday of Easter week.

¹⁹ There is a similar passage in the homily *In sanctum Pascha* (MG 52.771C): "Listen, you who this day in the course of the night were enrolled as citizens in the heavenly Jerusalem; show yourselves worthy guardians of His great gifts, that you may win for yourselves even a richer grace. For a soul that is grateful for gifts already received invites the Master to honor it."

²⁰ Chrysostom proposes St. Paul as an example to the neophytes. Chrysostom's admiration and love for the Apostle of the Gentiles is perhaps unmatched in any other Father of the Church. "I love all the saints, but above all the blessed Paul, the vessel of election, the heavenly trumpet, who leads Christ's bride to Him," he says in *In 2 Cor.* 11.1 (MG 51.301C). He proposes Paul as an example to the catechumens and the neophytes in other places too. Cf. Montf. 2.8 (MG 49.232D): "Just as Paul did, who by his subsequent toils, zeal, and eagerness increased all the blessings he had received." *In prin. act.* 1 (MG 51.76C): "Hear what Paul did. Immediately after he emerged from the waters, straightway after his baptism, he took up the struggle." *De res. dom.* (MG 50.442A): "Paul was a great man when he was baptized, but he became much greater after that, when he preached and confounded the Jews." Cf. also Stav. 5.18 and 19.

²¹ Chrysostom's love for Paul leads him to find excuses for his former conduct. Paul acted in ignorance but he was well disposed (*εὐγνώμων*). Chrysostom here gives us an optimistic picture of providence: if a soul is well disposed, God does not hesitate to lead it back from its path of error. We find the same idea in *De mut. nom.* 3 (MG 51.140C): "Did you see Paul's well-disposed soul? Did you see his understanding full of freedom? Did you see his sincerity of conscience? He did not resist, he was not contentious, but straightway he recognized the Master." Cf.

also *In Matt.* 24 (MG 57.321D): "It is not possible that a man who is leading an upright life, who is free from all passions of the soul, be despised. Even though he may have been led astray, God quickly draws him back to the truth."

²² Paul is again excused, because he acted out of zeal for the law, in *In act. apos.* 19 (MG 60.152B-54) and in *De mut. nom.* 3 (MG 51.138C): "He did this, not because he was moved by anger but by zeal."

²³ This is a common expression with Chrysostom. Cf., e.g., *Hom. in Gen.* 17 (MG 53.145A): "It is better for you to be under His domination than to enjoy freedom and power but go over a precipice, just as it is more profitable for a horse to feel the rein and to behave himself as he walks than to be free from the rein but go over the brink." Cf. also *ibid.* 156D; *Stav.* 2.7 and 15; 5.5 and 17.

²⁴ Cf. Acts 22.5.

²⁵ Cf. Acts 9.25.

²⁶ Cf. Acts 9.30. There is a slight discrepancy in Chrysostom's account. According to Acts 9.25, Paul fled from Damascus to Jerusalem by night; there is no time mentioned in verse 30, which merely states that the brethren took him down to Caesarea and sent him away to Tarsus.

²⁷ 1 Cor. 15.10.

²⁸ This paragraph is closely related to themes stated in *Stav.* 1 and 2. In *Stav.* 1.25-29, Chrysostom presented the new life through baptism as a captivity under the yoke of Christ; in *Stav.* 2.1 and 8, he enunciates the same moral principle which we find here: God does not allow Himself to be outdone in generosity. The expression "imitating His own goodness" has already been encountered in *Stav.* 1.17 and 2.29. Finally, we find here four of the ten graces of baptism enumerated in *Stav.* 3.5: remission of sins, justification, holiness, and filial adoption.

²⁹ The text of 2 Cor. 5.17 must have occurred in the Antioch lectionary for the fourth century somewhere in the course of the Easter season. If one of these lectionaries had come down to us, we might be able to determine whether this discourse was given Saturday night, Sunday, or Monday.

³⁰ "Who leads the Church to Christ as a bride to her spouse," *νμφαγωγός*, is applied to St. Paul elsewhere by Chrysostom. Cf., e.g., *In 2 Cor.* 11.1 (MG 51.301C) and *Exp. in ps.* 5 (MG 55.63A).

³¹ 2 Cor. 5.17.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.* The citation of the text leads Chrysostom to speak of the newness of life acquired in baptism. The commentary on this verse, *In 2 Cor.* 11 (MG 61.475C-76), is brief but not unlike the explanation given in the present passage. In both, the new life is the new life of the

spirit. The commentary says (*ibid.* 476B): "Behold, now the soul is new (for it has been cleansed), the body is new, the worship is new, the promises are new, the covenant, the life, the table, the robe; in a word, all things are new. Instead of the Jerusalem here below, we have gotten a heavenly Jerusalem; instead of a material temple, we see a spiritual one; instead of tables of stone, we have tables of flesh; instead of circumcision, we have baptism; instead of manna, we have the body of the Master; instead of water from the rock, we have blood from His side; instead of the rod of Moses or Aaron, we have the cross; instead of the Promised Land, we have the kingdom of heaven; instead of priests without number, we have one High Priest; instead of a lamb which was a dumb creature, we have a spiritual Lamb. When St. Paul pondered on all these things, he said: *they are all made new. But all things are from God through Christ and His gift.*"

⁸⁴ "Different." The same words (literally, "one person instead of another") occurred in Stav. 2.25 to express the transformation effected by baptism.

⁸⁵ Chrysostom here states another of his moral principles. Grace does no violence to the will of man, nor does it change his immutable nature. But it enlightens the free will by allowing the eyes of the soul to rid themselves of the false notions they previously had. A passage from Montf. 2.11 (MG 49.233B) helps to a correct understanding of this passage. There Chrysostom says that faith enlightens us and does not allow us to have mistaken ideas about things. At night a man sometimes sees a rope and thinks he sees a snake; in the daylight he sees things as they are. Faith is the daylight of the soul.

⁸⁶ There is a similar passage in *In prin. act.* 1 (MG 51.76C-D): "When [the Jews and Greeks] see that a man who before was debauched, wicked, sinful, and corrupt has suddenly been converted and, after his conversion by grace, has proved by his conduct that he has truly been converted, will they not be confounded?" Chrysostom is happy to draw an apologetic argument from the change in morals effected by baptism.

⁸⁷ 2 Cor. 5.17.

⁸⁸ Dignitaries who wear imperial images on their clothes should do honor to the garb which makes them honorable in the eyes of the common people. So the newly-baptized who have put on Christ should do the same. Although Chrysostom speaks in several places of this imperial emblem, he does not say precisely what it is. He does describe the imperial retinue in *De perf. car.* (MG 56.286D-87A): "Men clothed in gold, a team of white mules in golden livery, a gem-studded carriage with leaves of gold fluttering on it, silken garments ornamented with serpents, shields with eyes of gold, horses adorned with gold and wearing golden

bridles"; but this does not make clear what form the imperial insignia took.

³⁹ The baptismal robe has been mentioned before in paragraphs 3 and 4 of this discourse. During the seven days of the baptismal festival, the newly-baptized wore the white garment which they donned on coming forth from the baptismal waters. Palladius testifies to the same practice for Constantinople. After the bloody paschal night of 404 A.D., when soldiers had sacrilegiously interrupted the baptismal ceremonies, the Emperor Arcadius was riding on the Pempton Field and saw a crowd of some three thousand clothed in white robes, the newly-baptized who had survived the bloody riots of the night before. Cf. *Dialogus Palladii* 9 (MG 47.34B) and Baur 2.287-91.

⁴⁰ Matt. 5.16.

⁴¹ Chrysostom speaks of the white garments only to urge the neophytes to preserve the interior brilliance of their souls by the practice of good works. There are two products of a virtuous life: it merits salvation for him who lives it; it draws others to virtue and moves them to praise God.

⁴² There is a commentary on Matt. 5.16 in *In Matt.* 15 (MG 57.232D-34), which says in part: "Christ says, *I have kindled the light*; to keep it burning is up to your zeal, not only for your own sakes but for the sake of those who are going to benefit from your light and be led to the truth. Evil accusations will not be able to obscure your light if yours is a life of discipline and if you live as if you were going to convert the whole world. Show forth a life worthy of grace, so that as your life is heralded abroad the grace may go along with it. Next, He sets forth a second gain which goes with their own salvation and which can make them fit for the contest and lead them to the heights of zeal. For, He says, by living an upright life you will not only reform the world but you will even bring it about that God is glorified. If you act in the contrary fashion, you will destroy men and bring it about that God is blasphemed" (*ibid.* 233A).

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ 2 Cor. 5.17.

⁴⁵ Cf. Eph. 4.29.

⁴⁶ This is one of the rare instances where Chrysostom used the word *Κύριος*, Lord, apart from consecrated formulas. His favorite title for Christ is *Δεσπότης*, Master.

⁴⁷ Matt. 12.36.

⁴⁸ The argument a fortiori from earthly honors is a favorite with Chrysostom. Not only is there a parallel to this passage in *In Matt.* 56 (MG 58.557C), but the passage from the commentary throws light on

the present passage by telling what the Councilmen were forbidden by law to do: they could not lend money at interest. The legal rate of interest was one percent per month. When we consider that the money-lenders could then lend out the interest again at the same rate, it is easy to see why Chrysostom inveighs against this usurious practice. In the commentary *In Matt.*, Chrysostom answers the moneylender who said he was giving alms to the poor from his usurious profits, by saying that God does not want this kind of sacrifice. "It is better not to give to the poor than to give them money from that source, because, by reason of its wicked offspring, you make wicked the money which came from honest labors. It is just like making an honest womb give birth to scorpions. Why do I mention God's law? . . . If you wish to ask legislators of this world, you will hear from them that they consider this a most shameful thing. Certainly, those who occupy positions of honor and who belong to what they call the Great Council are forbidden to disgrace themselves with such profits. Indeed, there is a law prohibiting this" (*ibid.*). The commentary then draws the same moral lesson as the present discourse: "Is it not a frightening thing if you do not accord as much honor to the heavenly state as the legislators accord to the Council of the Romans?" (*ibid.*).

⁴⁹ The words "rich profit" make it clear that Chrysostom had in mind the usurious practices which are mentioned in the preceding note.

⁵⁰ Eph. 4.29-30.

⁵¹ Cf. Stav. 1.38 and n. 55.

⁵² Eccli. 19.27. This text is cited frequently by Chrysostom, e.g., *In kal.* (MG 48.960C): "It is possible to glorify God by our gait and our garb. Hear what a certain wise man says" [and there follows the text from Ecclesiasticus]. *In mart.* (MG 50.666A): "Let us return to town [from the shrines] with proper modesty, with composed gait, with prudence and self-control, with a placid and tranquil look" [and again follows the text from Ecclesiasticus].

⁵³ The homily *In sanctum Pascha* (MG 52.772C) states the same principle: "He must shun all unseemly laughter and keep his gait modest and unhurried and his robe down, and in all things he who has enrolled for the stadium of virtue must keep himself composed, for the [external] composure of the limbs is an image of the [interior] state of the soul."

⁵⁴ 2 Cor. 5.17.

⁵⁵ Baptism completely transforms the new Christian, so that he is completely spiritual. Just as his garb, his food, and his drink are all spiritual, so too his conduct must match his newly-given spiritual nature. Earth is

exchanged for heaven, and mud for spiritual gold. This latter is an interesting repetition of the metaphor found in Stav. 3.51. Cf. *ibid.* n. 51, which quotes *In Matt.* 39 and 89, where the metaphor is inverted and the gold becomes mud.

⁵⁶ Gal. 5.22-23. These are the fruits the new Christian must produce now that he has been transformed into a new and spiritual creature.

⁵⁷ 1 Tim. 1.9. The commentary *In Gal.* 5 (MG 61.674A) explains this: "For what could anyone enjoin on one who already possesses everything in himself and has love, the perfect teacher of doctrine? Just as horses that are docile and do all things by themselves would have no need of the whip, so the soul which is leading a successful life of virtue under the guidance of the Spirit has no need of a law to admonish it."

⁵⁸ Gal. 5.24. The life of the spirit blooms only in a crucified flesh. Chrysostom explains this text in the same way in *In Gal.* 5 (MG 61.674B): "For what is crucified is dead and inoperative." In *In Matt.* 17 (MG 57.256A), in reply to the question, "How can we free ourselves of concupiscence?" Chrysostom says: "If we would resolve to do so, we could, before all else, mortify concupiscence and keep it inoperative." No matter how powerful the grace of baptism is against evil and the demons, man always retains the dangerous freedom to lose all these gifts. He must not be wanting in vigilance in the matter of grace, but must remain alert and crucify the passions of the flesh to render them inoperative.

⁵⁹ Chrysostom here gives the formula by which he characterizes Christian asceticism: to live the spiritual life, the soul must establish itself in sobriety and spiritual vigilance. One encounters everywhere in his works this condition for any progress in virtue: "if we are sober." Cf., e.g., Stav. 5.12, 20, 28; 6.24; 7.2, 6, 28, 29; 8.18. For the origin of the term *sobria ebrietas* in Christian mysticism, cf. J. Quasten, "Sobria ebrietas in Ambrosius, *De sacramentis*," in *Miscellanea liturgica in honorem L. C. Mohlberg* 1 (Rome 1948) 117-25.

⁶⁰ As in Stav. 3.19, the present discourse comes to an end by recalling the contract which is not written with ink but with faith, not on paper but in confession. Stav. 1.19 makes it clear that faith refers to the interior dispositions, confession to the manifestation of these dispositions by the tongue.

⁶¹ This expression occurs four times in the present discourse (6, 10, 11, 31), as well as in Stav. 1.19 (see *ibid.* n. 27); 2.1; 5.19; 7.4, 10, and 24.

⁶² Cf. Eph. 5.27.

⁶³ A sure means for preserving one's baptismal purity is to pay close attention to the little things which can lead to grievous falls. These little things are called *ἀδιάφορα*, indifferent, e.g., in *De res. dom.* (MG 50.440A-B): "Do you see the greatness of the gift [of baptism]? Do you preserve

the greatness of this gift! You cannot live a life of indifference. Set up a law for yourself with all strictness. This is a contest and a wrestling, and *everyone in a contest abstains from all things* (1 Cor. 9.25). Shall I tell you the one way of right action that is best and safest? Let us drive from our minds the things which seem to be indifferent but which beget sins. Among our actions there are some which are sins and some which are not sins but are the causes of sin. For example, laughter is not by its nature a sin, but it becomes one if it is carried too far. For from laughter comes wit, from witty words comes obscenity, from obscenity come disgraceful deeds, and from disgraceful deeds come chastisement and punishment. Therefore, tear out the root, so that you may take away the whole disease." We find a very similar passage in *In sanctum Pascha* (MG 52.772A).

⁶⁴ Cf. Stav. 2.20 and *ibid.* n. 45.

⁶⁵ This is an obvious reference to the Eucharist, which renders us invulnerable to the assaults of Satan.

⁶⁶ Here we find the chief themes of this discourse: the good conduct of the neophytes brings joy to the Church and glory to God. The doxology presents the classic formula of Chrysostom.

THE FIFTH INSTRUCTION (Stavronikita 5)

¹ The title of exhortation is well suited to the present discourse. Chrysostom fears the postpaschal relaxation, because experience has taught him that people throw themselves into pleasures with energy equal to that with which they avoided them during Lent. At the risk of displeasing his hearers, he exhorts them to a new but spiritual fasting: they must fast not from food and drink but from sin and the excesses which lead to it. The Christian soul must always be well established in sobriety and spiritual vigilance. His hearers have proved their own good dispositions by their very attention, but Chrysostom still has a very good reason for exhorting them: they will carry his message to others. Once more he proposes to the neophytes the example of St. Paul. If they keep their baptismal luster, they can remain neophytes for the rest of their lives; if they fall into sin, they can lose their baptismal gifts in a single day, as was the case with Simon Magus, who tried right after his baptism to buy from Peter the grace of the Holy Spirit. Cf. Acts 8.9-19.

This instruction should be compared with *De res. dom.* (MG 50.433-42), which is part of a series of homilies consisting of a sermon for Holy Thursday (which is given in what appear to be two recensions in MG 49.374-92), another for Friday, *De coem. et cruce* (*ibid.* 393-418), and

the *De res. dom.* given on Easter Sunday. For this series see the *Monita* of Montfaucon (MG 50.431-32; 51.63-64), who thinks that the four homilies *In prin. act.* (MG 51.66-112) followed the *De res. dom.* (and therefore the others of the series) after Easter. If Montfaucon is correct, this would contradict Wenger's position that the homilies *In prin. act.* followed the series of Papadopoulos-Kerameus (cf. above 18). Although the parallels between the present Instruction and *De res. dom.* are numerous, each has its own plan and development.

² Of course, the Lenten fast is meant.

³ *De Anna* 1 (MG 54.633A): "I do not say this to impose on you a period of fasting but to persuade you not to lead a life of self-indulgence."

⁴ There is a parallel passage in *De res. dom.* (MG 50.433B): "I told you that it was possible for one who is fasting not to fast; now I say that it is possible for one not fasting to fast. Perhaps you think I am speaking in riddles, but if you are seeking the solution, I shall lead you to it. How is it possible for one fasting not to fast? When he keeps away from food but does not keep away from sin. How is it possible for one who is not fasting to fast? When he enjoys food but does not taste of sin."

⁵ In *De res. dom.* we find a similar list of excuses for not observing the physical fast: "During the time of that [physical] fasting, many a man offers as an excuse the weakness of his body, the terrible itchings: I am covered with sores, he says, I cannot endure being unwashed; to drink water is killing me; I cannot stand the taste of vegetables" (MG 50.433B-C).

⁶ *De res. dom.* (*ibid.* C) is more explicit: "Enjoy the baths, take your share of food, drink wine in moderation; if you are going to eat meat, there is no one to stop you. Enjoy them all, but keep away from sin alone."

⁷ Many passages express the same caution against excess, but most often against excess in drinking. Chrysostom is careful in his invectives against drink to point out that in itself wine is not evil, for nothing which God has made is evil. Cf., e.g., *In mart.* (MG 50.633D): "I say this not to hinder you from having pleasure but to keep you from committing sin, not to hinder you from drinking but to keep you from getting drunk. Wine is not evil, but its immoderate use is; wine is a gift of God, drinking too much of it is a device of the devil." *De stat.* 1 (MG 49.22C): "Not the use but the immoderate use of wine causes drunkenness, and this is the root of all evils. Wine was given us to refurbish the weakness of the body, not to destroy the strength of the soul; to strengthen the weakness of the flesh, not to ruin the health of the soul." The same idea occurs in *In Isa.* 45.7 (MG 56.142D).

⁸ The evils on the body of excessive eating are described in *In Matt.*

44 (MG 57.470C-71B), where he says, e.g.: "There is nothing so hostile and harmful to the body as soft living, nothing bursts, overwhelms, and destroys it as does prodigality" (*ibid.* 470D). Chrysostom also holds the glutton up to scorn: "Why, tell me, are you fattening up your body? We are not going to sacrifice you or serve you up at table, are we?" (*ibid.* 470C). The conclusion of this homily (*ibid.* 472) is quite similar to the subject of the present Instruction: avoid all excess, practice moderation, so as to enjoy health of body and to avoid every malady of the soul.

⁹ This whole passage (paragraphs 4-11) finds parallels in *De res. dom.* (MG 50.434-35), *Con. Jud.* (MG 48.927-28), and *De stat.* 1 (MG 49.22). The passage is quite characteristic. Taking two texts (Isa. 29.9 and Eph. 5.18), Chrysostom proves that there is a drunkenness which does not come from wine but which produces in us the different passions of pride, vainglory, anger, etc. Then he describes the ravages of these passions as compared with the ravages of drunkenness, which he characterizes in several places in the same terms: a voluntary possession, revelation of the secrets of the soul, and the loss of all possessions. Finally, drunkenness excludes one from the kingdom of heaven, and this loss is the essential evil. Cf. *In Matt.* 23 (MG 57.317B): "There are two punishments. He who is burned with fire is also completely excluded from the kingdom." *Ibid.* 47 (MG 58.483B): "See that the punishment is twofold: the burning with fire and the exclusion from glory." The parallel passage from *De res. dom.* (MG 50.434B-36D) is very graphic, rich in Chrysostom's moral teaching, and deserves to be quoted at length:

"Do not be drunk with wine, for in that is debauchery (Eph. 5.18). We call those young men profligates (cf. below, n. 17) who have received their paternal inheritance and straightway spend it all without considering to whom or when they must give away their money, but simply distribute their clothes, their gold, their silver, and all their father's wealth on prostitutes and shameless people. That is the kind of thing drunkenness is. It seizes the drunkard's understanding as if he were a young profligate; it enslaves his reason and forces us to pour out all the wealth of our minds, neither considering nor attending to what we do. The drunkard does not know what he must say nor what he must keep secret, but his mouth is continually open. There is neither bar nor door on his lips. The drunkard does not know how to order his words by judgment, nor how to manage the wealth of his understanding, nor what to store away, nor what to spend, but all these are spent, all paid out. Drunkenness is a voluntary madness, a betrayal of one's reason, a disaster people laugh at, a sickness at which they scoff, a self-chosen demon, a most wicked insanity.

"Do you wish to find out how the drunkard is worse than the

demoniac? We all pity the man possessed by a demon, but we hate the drunkard; we are sorry for the demoniac, but we are angry and vexed with the drunkard. Why? The one man's illness is due to the devil's abuse, the other's to his own negligence. In the one case we have the plotting of enemies, in the other the plotting of the man's own reason. The drunkard suffers the same torments as the demoniac, for he is driven about, he is confused, he falls down, he rolls his eyes, he lies on the ground and quivers, he froths at the mouth, he pours forth vile vomit, and his mouth is filled with an intolerable stench. Such a man is an annoyance to his friends, mocked by his foes, well despised by his servants, no joy to his wife, a burden to his children. He is the most unpleasant of brutes.

"Brutes drink only as long as they are thirsty, and they limit their desire by their need. This man goes beyond his desire by his intemperance and becomes more irrational than the irrational animals. What is still much worse is that this sickness which is rife with such evils and which brings with it so many disasters is not even considered to be deserving of indictment. At the banquets of the wealthy a rivalry and contest comes up over this disgraceful thing, and the guests vie strongly with each other to see who will make a spectacle of himself, who will provide more laughter, who will be more successful in slackening his sinews and destroying his strength, who will win the contest in provoking our common Master. And it is possible to see such a diabolic contest and struggle.

"The drunkard is more wretched than a corpse. The corpse just lies there without perception, unable to do anything either good or bad; the drunkard is fit only to do evil deeds and, with his soul buried in his body as in a tomb, he carries around a dead body. Did you see how he is more wretched than the demoniac, how he is less perceptive than a corpse?

"Do you wish me to tell you something worse and more difficult to endure than all these things? The drunkard cannot enter the kingdom of heaven. Who says so? St. Paul. *Do not err; neither fornicators nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor the effeminate, nor sodomites, nor thieves, nor the covetous, nor drunkards, nor the evil-tongued, nor the greedy will possess the kingdom of God* (1 Cor. 6.9-10). You heard the crowd with which Paul ranks the drunkard. With the prostitutes, the fornicators, with idolaters, with adulterers, with the evil-tongued, with the covetous, with the greedy. 'What then?' someone says. 'Is the drunkard the same as the prostitute? Is the drunkard the same as the idolater?' Do not say that to me, my friend. I read you God's laws. Do not ask me for an accounting. Ask Paul and he will give you the answer. I cannot say

whether the drunkard is punished with them or apart from them. But I could affirm strongly and confidently that, like the idolater, he will be excluded from the kingdom of heaven. If you agree with this, why ask me, then, for an accounting of the measure of his sin? When he remains outside the gates, when he is excluded from the kingdom, when he is deprived of salvation, when he is sent to eternal punishment, why do you proffer to me measures, scales, and balances for sins?

"Truly, my beloved, drunkenness is a terrible and very dangerous thing. I am not talking to you. Heaven forbid! For I am thoroughly convinced that your souls are cleansed of this sickness and disease, and I have a proof of it in the fact that you are here, in the zeal of your gathering, and in the soberness with which you listen. *Do not be drunk with wine, for in that is debauchery; but be filled with the Spirit*" (Eph. 5.18).

¹⁰ Cf. Isa. 29.9.

¹¹ "Haughty madness," *ἀπρόνοια*, means an extreme form of pride. Literally, the term means madness or frenzy, but Chrysostom seems to understand it as a synonym of *ὕπερηφανία*, arrogance, haughtiness, pride. In *vidi dom.* 3 (MG 56.116D) he says: "Haughty madness (*ἀπρόνοια*) is the font of all evils. That you may learn in brief the malice of this disease, hear this. All other sins are involved in our [bodily] nature; haughtiness (*ὕπερηφανία*) dragged and hurled down from on high a spiritual power, for it took what before was not a devil and made it into a devil." F. Field, in his *Index verborum In Matt.* (MG 58.924), says: "*ἀπρόνοια*, *arrogantia*, *superbia*. Hoc sensu semper, ni fallor, apud Chrysostomum occurrit."

¹² Cf. Stav. 4.9 and n. 23.

¹³ Eccli. 1.22. Chrysostom quotes accurately the Septuagint version. The verse is not found in the Challoner revision.

¹⁴ *Ἀισθητήριον* literally means an organ of sense but figuratively means the faculty for making moral judgments. Cf. Heb. 5.14: *For those who by practice have their faculties (αἰσθητήρια) trained to discern good and evil.*

¹⁵ Cf. Stav. 1.6 for a similar expression.

¹⁶ Eph. 5.18.

¹⁷ Chrysostom comes back to the topic of physical drunkenness, which St. Paul calls debauchery. This debauchery is the same as profligacy according to a play on the Greek words *δωρῖα*, debauchery, and *ἄσωτος*, profligate or prodigal.

¹⁸ Cf. above, paragraph 6 and n. 15.

¹⁹ Although these secrets of the heart and spirit are personal to each one, they are also known to God. Cf. Montf. 2.1 (MG 49.231B).

²⁰ The same characteristic is mentioned in *De res. dom.* (MG 50.434C). We find *ibid.* the same definition of drunkenness: "It is a

voluntary madness, a betrayal of one's reason, a disaster people laugh at, a sickness at which they scoff, a self-chosen demon, a very wicked insanity." The list is even more complete in *De stat.* 1 (MG 49.22C): "The drunkard is a living corpse, a self-chosen demon, a sickness without pardon, a dead body deprived of reason, the common shame of our race." Cf. above, n. 9, and also *In act. apos.* 31 (MG 60.232D).

²¹ There is a parallel passage in *Hom. in Gen.* 29 (MG 53.267D), where the possessed soul is again compared with the drunkard: "Drunkenness is a self-chosen demon. . . . Often we see a possessed man and pity him, feel sorry for him, and show him great sympathy. In the case of the drunkard we do the opposite; we are angry and disgusted, we call a thousand curses down on him. Why? The man who is driven by the demon does what he does unwillingly; even if he kicks, and tears his clothes, and speaks foul words, he is judged deserving of pardon. But whatever the drunkard may do, he does not deserve pardon. He stands accused by his family, his friends, his neighbors, and everybody, because he pursued his wickedness of his own free will and surrendered himself to the tyranny of drink."

²² The same realistic description is found in *De res. dom.* (MG 50.434D-35A). However, instead of the rather cruel "mocked by his children" we read there "mocked by his foes."

²³ Ἀλλότριος, an alien or stranger, is opposed to υἱός, a son. Cf. Matt. 17.24: *From whom do the kings of the earth receive tribute or customs: from their own sons (υἱῶν) or from strangers (ἀλλοτρίων)?*

²⁴ Cf. 1 Cor. 6.9-10. Chrysostom omits the effeminate, thieves, the covetous, the evil-tongued, and the greedy from the Pauline roster.

²⁵ In *De res. dom.* (MG 50.435C) we find the same punishment, the same astonishment on the part of the hearer, and the same answer from Chrysostom. For the punishment cf. also *In martyres* (MG 50.664A): "Do you not know what manner of punishment awaits drunkards? They are cast forth from the kingdom of God, they are driven from ineffable goods, and they are sent into eternal fire. Who says so? Blessed Paul says: *Neither the covetous, nor drunkards, nor the evil-tongued, nor the greedy will possess the kingdom of God.*" Between these two citations of 1 Cor. 6.9-10, Chrysostom omits only the effeminate and the thieves from St. Paul's list. The list is found in full in *De res. dom.* (MG 50.435C).

²⁶ What solace will there be for anyone who is excluded from the kingdom, even if he is less severely punished by the fire? We see here the profound spiritual insight of Chrysostom: there is no punishment to be compared to the loss of God. He often points out the double nature

of the pains of hell: the pains of fire and the pain of loss. Cf., e.g., *In Matt.* 23 and 47, quoted above in n. 9.

²⁷ Sobriety and vigilance dispose the soul to desire the word of God. On the other hand, thirst for God's word is an indication of soberness of the spirit. As seen above, Stav. 4.30 and n. 59, soberness and vigilance are the keystones of Christian asceticism and a necessary condition for progress in virtue.

²⁸ The same notion is found more fully developed, e.g., in Stav. 4.20. Cf. *ibid.* n. 42.

²⁹ *De res. dom.* (MG 50.435A): "Brutes drink only as long as they are thirsty, and they limit their desire by their need. Man goes beyond his desire by his intemperance and becomes more irrational than the irrational animals."

³⁰ An invitation to fraternal correction. It is the glory of Christianity and the mark of a confident virtue not to seek only our own spiritual advantage but also to look for the salvation of our brethren, for we are members of one another. Cf. Stav. 6.17-19 and notes 35-37.

³¹ 1 Cor. 10.24.

³² 1 Thess. 5.11.

³³ 1 Cor. 12.26 is here conflated with Eph. 4.25.

³⁴ Cf. Stav. 2.5 and *ibid.* n. 10. We know from the homilies *In Gen.* that the fast was rigorously observed and constituted a check to intemperance. With the coming of Easter, Chrysostom fears the ease and relaxing which accompany the festal days, because human nature is left unprotected when it gives itself over to easy living.

³⁵ In Stav. 2.3-9 Chrysostom has already explained how the chastisement inflicted by God on man was a mark of His benevolent providence.

³⁶ Deut. 32.15.

³⁷ Exod. 32.4.

³⁸ Ps. 77.34.

³⁹ The neophytes must reject the example of the Jews, who were ungrateful; they must imitate the example of Paul, whose soul was so well disposed and whose baptism produced such a great change. There is a close parallel to this passage in *De res. dom.* (MG 50.442A): "Paul was great when he was baptized; he became much greater thereafter when he preached and confounded the Jews." Several of the ideas in this section are reiterated from Stav. 5.7-11.

⁴⁰ Cf. Stav. 4.6, 7 and 10, and *ibid.* notes 19, 20, and 28.

⁴¹ Ἀκάθекτος, ungovernable, is a standard epithet for madness. Such, e.g., is the madness for the racecourse (*De Anna* [MG 54.661A]) and the jealousy of a man deceived by his wife (*Hom. in Gen.* 32 [MG

53.299A]). In *In Matt.* 11 (MG 57.197A) this word is used to characterize the efficacy of grace.

⁴² Cf. Acts 9.22-25 and 2 Cor. 11.33.

⁴³ It is not the baptismal robe that makes the neophyte but the innocence of his soul and the interior luster of grace. We find this idea in at least four places: the present passage; Stav. 6.21; *In prin. act.* 1 (MG 51.74D-75A): "I wish now to address the newly-illuminated. And I call newly-illuminated not only those who received baptism two, three, or ten days ago, but also those who were baptized a year or more ago, for we must call them, too, newly-illuminated. If we show abundant zeal for our own souls, it is possible to be newly-illuminated even after ten years, if we preserve the newness which comes from the illumination. Time does not make the neophyte but purity of life, for it is possible to lose after two days the dignity of that title, if we do not pay heed" [and there follows the example of Simon Magus]; and *ibid.* 3 (MG 51.96C-D): "I shall try to direct my exhortation to the newly-illuminated, but let no one think that this purpose of mine is not appropriate. For I have already said that those who have been initiated can, if they are sober, be called newly-illuminated not only after ten or twenty days but even after ten or twenty years." In the present passage, St. Paul remained a neophyte all his life because he continued to grow in sanctity; Simon Magus lost his right to the title by falling into sin shortly after baptism.

⁴⁴ Acts 8.22.

⁴⁵ The surest way is to give proof of our gratitude for the benefits already received. But what happens to those who have had the misfortune of losing their baptismal grace by sin? They must not despair, because there is a remission after baptism by means of repentance and tears. This possibility of postbaptismal conversion is another mark of the divine benevolence and has no parallel in the domain of nature. Once the body has lost the luster of youth through sickness or age, it cannot recover its lost bloom. Cf. *In prin. act.* 1 (MG 51.75C): "The youth [of the soul] is not from nature, but we are the masters of choosing one or the other; it lies in our power either to grow old or remain young."

⁴⁶ Fearing that the hope of a second pardon after baptism may lead the neophytes to negligence, Chrysostom warns them that it is much easier to be vigilant and to preserve their baptismal grace than to recover it later by repentance. There is a parallel passage in Montf. 2.20 (MG 49.234C): "Guard, then, the garment you have received; if you ruin it, you will not be able to borrow or buy another. There is no place where this kind of garment is for sale. Did you not hear how those who had previously been baptized groaned and beat their breasts because their

consciences stirred them here? See to it then, my beloved, that you never undergo this experience."

⁴⁷ In concluding, Chrysostom again proposes what he considers the essential condition of every return to God and progress in virtue, namely, soberness and vigilance of the spirit. The doxology is in Chrysostom's classic style.

THE SIXTH INSTRUCTION

(Stavronikita 6)

¹ The evil which Chrysostom had feared in the preceding Instruction did not fail to materialize, as is evidenced by the shrinking congregation. After Lent, the races in the hippodrome have started up again, and some Christians have gone there, completely forgetting Lent, Easter, their participation in the divine mysteries, and Chrysostom's course of instructions. He is discouraged and feels he has wasted his efforts on Christians who are so careless. After some severe admonitions concerning the bad example given by the guilty ones and the punishment which they incur by this conduct, Chrysostom starts on a new but related topic and develops the theme: whatever you do, *do all for the glory of God* (cf. 1 Cor. 10.31). Cf. below, n. 18. The Instruction ends on a familiar note and in words which are reminiscent of *In prin. act.* 1 (MG 51.74D-75A). Those baptized long ago can regain the luster of their baptism by confession, tears, and repentance. The neophytes will strive always to guard this luster, for it is much easier to keep this purity by the practice of good works than to regain it by repentance. That they may learn this lesson well, the Church prolongs their instructions for seven days.

² Some forty homilies of Chrysostom begin with the word *πάλιν*, again. The *incipit* of *Con. Anom.* 7 (MG 48.755D) is almost identical with that of the present Instruction. Many other homilies show a similar exordium in which Chrysostom complains of the negligence of his flock because too many Christians abandon their duties and his instructions to run off to the games. On the great feasts of Easter and Pentecost the churches are too small to hold the throngs of the faithful; on the days following these feasts the small crowds of fervent faithful do not begin to fill the churches, which have suddenly become too large. Cf. esp. *Con. Anom.* 7 (*ibid.*); *De Laz.* 7 (*ibid.* 1043-46); *In s. Lucianum mart.* (MG 50.519-21), whose feast came on the day after Epiphany, Jan. 7; *De Anna* 4 (MG 54.660-62), delivered shortly after Pentecost; *In Rom.* 12.20 (MG 51.171).

³ On the spectacles of the circus and the theater, cf. Baur 2.86-90.

⁴ Cf. Stav. 2.5 and *ibid.* n. 10.

⁵ Cf. *De Laz.* 7 (MG 48.1045D-46A): "With what eyes will they look upon their Judge? How will they endure that dread day and its intolerable torments? They cannot take refuge in ignorance, can they? Every day I cry out, I admonish, I exhort, I point out the destruction which comes from the pleasure of this deceit, the enormity of the hurt it inflicts, the guile of this satanic gathering, but even by this I cannot move them. And yet, why do I speak of the dread day of judgment? Meanwhile, let us exercise ourselves in the things of this life. How, tell me, how will those who take part in that satanic spectacle be able to come here with confidence, when their conscience rises up and shouts loudly against them? Do they not hear Paul, the apostle of the whole world, when he says: *What fellowship has light with darkness? Or what part has the believer with the unbeliever* (cf. 2 Cor. 6.14)? How great a condemnation would be deserved when the believer first enjoys the prayers and dread mysteries which are celebrated here and the spiritual instruction, and then, although he has been illumined by the light of the Sun of Justice, he goes away after the sacrifice here and sits down at that satanic spectacle beside the unbeliever, beside one who is wandering in the darkness of impiety? How, tell me, will we be able hereafter to block up the mouths of the Greeks and the Jews? How will we have the strength to persuade them to range themselves on the side of piety, when they see that those who belong in our ranks are mingled with them at those destructive spectacles which are filled with every outrage?"

⁶ It does not seem that those who rushed away were neophytes. We must recall that in these postpaschal discourses Chrysostom addresses himself both to the newly-baptized and to those who had long since received the gift. If the neophytes had been guilty of this negligence so soon after baptism, Chrysostom would probably have said so.

⁷ Cf. Stav. 5.12 and *ibid.* n. 27.

⁸ Easter, which was first called *πάσχα* and later *ἀνάστασις*, resurrection, is here called *ἀναστάσιμος ἡμέρα*. In Byzantine Greek *ἀναστάσιμος* designates Easter Sunday. We find this term used in *In ascens.* (MG 52.776A), a spurious sermon which probably belongs to Severianus of Gabala. The same term is found in *In sanctum Pascha* (*ibid.* 765D), whose genuineness has been defended by Savile, Montfaucon, and Tillemont, although Fronton du Duc thought it was a patchwork cento made up from other works of Chrysostom (cf. *ibid.* 765-66).

⁹ Cf. *De Laz.* 6 (MG 48.1046D): "Some . . . in a moment's time and practically with their own hands raze to the ground by their unutterable laxity this edifice which was reared with such toil. They cause me

great discouragement by this and bring on themselves the greatest destruction and an intolerable punishment."

¹⁰ He who preaches without result is like a farmer who toils without producing a crop. However, there is a sameness and difference in the analogy, because even if those who hear Chrysostom fail to profit from his teaching, his recompense and profit is assured. Cf. *De mut. nom.* 4 (MG 51.147A): "If you sow seed on the ground and it fails to produce a crop, you must go away with empty hands. But this is not so in the case of the soul. Therefore, sow the seeds of your teaching, and even if you fail to persuade by your words, you have your reward in full, just as great as if you had persuaded. For God is accustomed to give His rewards not simply in the light of what has been accomplished but in the light of the intention of those who toil." There is an interesting variation on the metaphor of the farmer in *Con. Anom.* 7 (MG 48.755D): "Again the chariot races and again our congregation is shrinking. But as long as you are here, it will not become smaller. If a farmer should see his crop ripe and complete, he takes no account of the falling leaves; so also now, since my crop is here, I do not grieve so much when I see the leaves which have been torn away. I grieve for their laxity, but the zeal of your charity consoles me in my sorrow over them."

¹¹ Chrysostom's reward becomes bitter to his fatherly heart as soon as his recompense becomes the occasion for more serious punishment for his spiritual children. He seeks their benefit more than his own gain. Cf. *Hom. in Gen.* 32 (MG 53.293C-D): "But we do not now care about this, namely, whether we are free from charges and accusations; we desire your progress and we consider that our joy is blunted—even if we are free from every possible censure—unless you give evidence of a zeal worthy of our labors."

¹² This expression is found often in Chrysostom and almost always in a similar context. Cf., e.g., *Hom. in Gen.* 32, quoted in the preceding note; *ibid.* 12 (MG 53.98C): "Sometimes our brethren who have been sick, through imagination and habit, have separated themselves from this spiritual gathering and have blunted our joy in the holy festival." However, cf. *In Matt.* 62 (MG 58.599A-D), where the verb is applied to eunuchs.

¹³ John 15.22.

¹⁴ Cf. *De Laz.* 7 (MG 48.1043D-44A), quoted above in n. 5. The meaning of "every day" is quite clear. It was not unusual for Chrysostom to preach daily during Lent. His sermons which have come down to us, abundant as they are, represent only a part of his immense activity as a preacher. It is true that at times he would borrow from sermons

delivered during an earlier period; this becomes clear from the amazing number of parallels in ideas and expression which we find between these Instructions and his other works, as well as from the fact that the same Easter sermon occurs both in the Stavronikita series and in that of Papadopoulos-Kerameus. However, cf. Introduction 12.

¹⁵ The wicked habit is attendance at the racecourse and Satan's spectacles mentioned at the beginning of paragraph 5. There is a parallel passage in *De Anna* 4 which makes this clear and also develops the notion of the responsibility of the senior citizens: "Men worn out with age rush to the circus more eagerly than vigorous young men, disgracing their white hair, making a spectacle of their years, and a laughingstock of their old age. But when they come here [to church] as if they were suffering from nausea, they think they are unwell and slump down while they hear the word of God, using as excuses the closeness of space and breathing and similar complaints. But at the racecourse they even take the sun on their bare heads, they let people step on their feet and push them around, they are crushed most violently, and suffer ten thousand other terrible things, but they suffer them as if they were luxuriating in some pleasant meadow.

"This is why our cities are corrupt. Wicked men are the teachers of our youth. How will you be able to control the young man of disordered passions when you yourself, despite your gray hair, are acting like a frisky colt, when you have not, after so long a time, had your fill of such an unpleasant spectacle? How will you be able to train your son, to punish a sinful servant, to counsel another who is careless of right conduct when you disgrace yourself so in your extreme old age?" (MG 54.661A-B).

¹⁶ 1 Cor. 10.32.

¹⁷ 1 Cor. 10.31.

¹⁸ 1 Cor. 10.31-32 form part of the passage which speaks of meats sacrificed to idols. Wenger (219 n. 1) does not think that a commentary on these verses would have offered the subject for an instruction. Verse 32, which forbids scandal, serves as a good conclusion for the invective against bad example with which his discourse has thus far been concerned. Verse 32 recalled verse 31, which now forms the theme for a new discourse. This would not be the first time that Chrysostom, starting with a text of St. Paul, has turned aside from his original plan and begun a different sermon. Cf., e.g., *In Isa.* 45.7 (MG 56.146A-B). This would explain the lack of order in this Instruction, which seems to be without any guiding plan. Even though it may be improvised, the commentary on verse 31 shows originality and depth. Although in the context of 1 Cor. 10 the verse applies to meats sacrificed to idols, Chrysos-

tom says in his commentary *In 1 Cor.* 25 (MG 61.208B): "Did you see how from the text under consideration he led his exhortation to universal application by giving one rule and that the most beautiful: glorify God in all things?"

¹⁹ The Greek word *χορηγός* means one who defrays the costs for producing a chorus; hence, one who supplies and supports. Cf. 2 Cor. 9.10: *Now he who provides (ὁ ἐκχορηγῶν) the sower with seed will both give (χορηγήσει) you bread to eat and will multiply your seed and will increase the growth of the fruits of your justice.* Of course, it is God who supplies and supports us.

²⁰ To do all for the glory of God is, first of all, to do nothing to dishonor Him. The sins of Christians provoke the blasphemies of unbelievers, just as their virtuous lives move the souls of the well-disposed to praise God, as we see in Matt. 5.16. Chrysostom commented on this text from Matthew in this same way in Stav. 4.19-21. He now goes on to show by examples how we must in every circumstance act for the glory of God. There are other examples of these moral reflections and of these two texts (Matt. 5.16 and 1 Cor. 10.31) in *In kal.* (MG 48.957A-B): *"Even so let your light shine before men, in order that they may see your good works and give glory to your Father in heaven (Matt. 5.16).* This light brings you great recompense. Do not crown the door of your house with garlands but display such conduct that you may receive from Christ's hands the crown of justice for your head. Do nothing rashly or without purpose; Paul enjoined us to do all for the glory of God. *Whether you eat or drink, or do anything else, do all for the glory of God (1 Cor. 10.31).* How is it possible, someone says, to eat and drink for the glory of God? Invite a poor man to dinner, share your table with Christ, and you have eaten and drunk for the glory of God. But Paul enjoined us not only to do this for the glory of God but all other things as well, such as going to the market place or staying at home. Let both of these be done on God's account. And how can both these things be done on God's account? When you go to church, when you take part in prayer and spiritual instruction, you leave your house for the glory of God. And again, it is possible to remain home on God's account. How and in what way? When you hear of tumults, disorders, and the pomps of the devil, when you hear that the market place is filled with wicked and undisciplined men, stay home and keep away from this disturbance and you have remained home for the glory of God."

²¹ Ἀδελφαστον, which cannot be bribed, is applied to conscience in Stav. 1.28 but here to the judgment on the Last Day. The expression "that dread day" occurs also, e.g., in *In Matt.* 21 (MG 57.294B) and in Stav. 7.3.

²² 1 Kings 2.30.

²³ Cf. Rom. 2.24; Isa. 52.5; Ezech. 36.20.

²⁴ Matt. 5.16.

²⁵ 1 Cor. 10.31.

²⁶ Φιλόσοφος and φιλοσοφία refer basically to the love and pursuit of wisdom. In the Christian context, the wisdom is the true doctrine, the Christian way of life, and it is often thus associated with piety. As applied to monasticism, it means the moral and ascetical life. Cf. H. Graef, *St. Gregory of Nyssa* (ACW 18) 190 n. 93. Chrysostom uses these terms, among other places, in Stav. 1.29 and 36; 8.2, 4, and 6. Cf. n. 56 on Montf. 2.

²⁷ Ps. 67.6.

²⁸ Isa. 1.17-18.

²⁹ 1 Cor. 10.31.

³⁰ Cf. *In kal.* (MG 48.975B), quoted above in n. 19.

³¹ "Your loving assembly" translates ἀγάπη, the love feast in the ancient Church, on which cf. H. Leclercq in DACL 1.775-848. The love feast does not seem to have been practiced in the Church of Antioch at this time, and Chrysostom seems to have used the word in the sense of an assembly for the purpose of instruction. Cf. Stav. 1.9; 2.28; 8.16; Montf. 2.1 Cf. his use of τράπεζα, banquet table, which often means instruction in the Sacred Scriptures, as, e.g., in Stav. 8.1. Cf. also St. Augustine's use in his sermons of *caritas vestra*.

³² 1 Cor. 10.32.

³³ Chrysostom returns to the case of the Christians who have deserted the church for the racecourses and spectacles. Even though Paul has forbidden them to give any occasion for scandal to the Jews and Greeks, these Christians are sharing in their sinful pleasures. Cf. *De Laz.* 7 (MG 48.1046A-B), quoted above in n. 5. In Chrysostom's day there was not only a religious but also a social distinction between Greeks, Jews, and Christians. The three religious groups formed three quite distinct social classes. There is a splendid description of Antioch and its people in Baur 1.29-41.

³⁴ Cf. 1 Cor. 8.10.

³⁵ 1 Cor. 10.31.

³⁶ The double reward accruing to the practice of fraternal correction is a commonplace with Chrysostom. Cf., e.g., *De mut. nom.* 4 (MG 51.147C): "Although [your lax brother] is called away by countless necessary things, do not yield or let him turn his hand to any worldly matter before you bring him to the church and persuade him to participate in the entire service. If he is contentious, if he refuses, if he offers ten thousand excuses, do not heed him, do not agree; but tell him and show

him that the other business will be made easy for him when he comes to it after the services are over, after he has participated in the prayers, after he has received the blessings of the fathers. After you have bound him fast with these arguments and others more numerous than these, bring him to this holy table, that you may have a twofold reward both in your own behalf and in his."

³⁷ It is the glory of the Church and a sign of sure virtue if a person does not take care of his own salvation exclusively but is also concerned with the salvation of others. Cf. *In 1 Cor.* 25 (MG 61.208D): "This is the rule of the most perfect Christianity, this is its exact definition, this is its highest peak, namely, to seek what is beneficial to all in common. Nothing can make one an imitator of Christ (cf. 1 Cor. 11.1) so much as caring for one's neighbor." *Serm. in Gen.* 9 (MG 54.623C): "Therefore, let us take care of our brothers. This is the sum total of our conduct, this is the sign [by which we are known as Christians], that we do not seek only what is our own, but we correct and straighten our members which have become twisted. In this is the greatest proof of our faith."

³⁸ Jer. 15.19. Chrysostom comments on this text in the same terms in *Hom. in Gen.* 3 (MG 53.36D-37A): "That you may learn how great a good it is to gain another's salvation along with your own, hear the prophet, who speaks in the person of God: *He who separates the worthy from the vile shall be as my mouth.* But what is this? He who leads his neighbor from error to truth or from evil to virtue, that man imitates me as far as it lies in human power." And a little further on (*ibid.* 37B): ". . . so that he even snatches them from the jaws of the devil."

³⁹ 1 Cor. 8.11.

⁴⁰ This is the way in which Chrysostom often ends a request. Cf. Stav. 2.19: "I do not doubt that you will do this, because you show a deep affection for those who teach you." *In sanctum Pascha* (MG 52.770D): "I do not doubt that you will heed our exhortations, for I know how obedient you are."

⁴¹ This passage is paralleled in Stav. 5.20 and in *In prin. act.* 1 and 3. The latter two passages are quoted in n. 43 to Stav. 5. The similarity is very close between the present passage and *In prin. act.* 1.

⁴² Chrysostom often speaks of the heaviness of sin. Cf. Stav. 1.28 and *ibid.* n. 39.

⁴³ Ps. 37.5.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 6.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ As he did in Stav. 5.24-27, Chrysostom points out here the two ways to salvation: those formerly baptized can recover their purity by confession, tears, and repentance; the neophytes should avoid everything

which can soil the luster of their souls more carefully than those who are wearing a new robe avoid spots and mud. Cf. also notes 45 and 46 to Stav. 5.

⁴⁷ Because of the grave peril which threatens their innocence, Chrysostom gives a daily spiritual instruction. This remark brings to mind Stav. 4.30 and shows that there is an internal bond between the different Instructions.

⁴⁸ Here is another evidence of an internal bond, this time with Stav. 1.1-10. There is also a remarkable parallel with *De res. dom.* (MG 50.441A): "However, what takes place here is a spiritual marriage, and in a marriage the bridal feast lasts seven days. On this account we have decreed seven days for the spiritual feast. There, after seven days the feasting is over; here, if you wish, you can remain at the sacred festival all your life. In marriage between man and woman, after one or two months, the bride is not so lovable in the eyes of her groom; here this is not the case, but the longer the time which passes, the warmer is the Bridegroom's love, the more genuine are His embraces, the more spiritual His communion, if we are sober." Soberness, as always, is the condition for all blessings. In the present Instruction, Chrysostom does not develop the theme of the bridal feast at such length but turns quickly to the usual closing doxology.

THE SEVENTH INSTRUCTION (Stavronikita 7)

¹ In this Instruction, delivered at one of Antioch's numerous *martyria* (sanctuaries dedicated to a martyr), Chrysostom informs us of the place occupied by the cult of the martyrs in the Church at the close of the fourth century. This Instruction was probably given on Friday of Easter week. In the Syrian Church from the fourth century on, this day was dedicated to the memory of the Christian martyrs who died under Sapor II on Good Friday of the year 341. Since their feast could not be celebrated on Good Friday, it was transferred to the following Friday, and very soon it became a kind of commemoration of all the martyrs. Cf. A. Baumstark, *Festbrevier und Kirchenjahr der syrischen Jakobiten* (Paderborn 1910) 251-52. Perhaps the present Instruction is an indirect testimony of this practice.

The panegyric of the martyrs is bolstered by the theme of the homily, which remains eminently paschal: *Seek the things that are above, where Christ is seated at the right hand of God* (Col. 3.1). The martyrs scorned the tyrant and the torments made ready for their bodies. With the eyes of faith they saw Christ seated at the right hand of God above

the choirs of angels. Baptism makes the neophyte a kind of martyr, because he has died to the world; it also introduces him to a new spiritual life in Christ. The splendor of this life is symbolized now by the white garments; but no matter what care one takes of it, the luster of the garment finally grows dull. This must not be the case with the interior brilliance of the soul. All Christians must constantly increase this luster of the soul by prayer, which is a conversation with God and which establishes the soul in a royal dignity; they must increase it also by almsgiving, the inseparable companion of prayer. The mention of prayer and almsgiving suggests to Chrysostom the example of Cornelius, for whom this practice merited an extraordinary vision and the grace of baptism. Cornelius is offered as a model to those soldiers who use their state as an excuse to spend their time in banquets and drinking, to free themselves of the obligation of spiritual instruction, and to omit their prayers before and after meals, because they think that their military status frees them from all restraint and obligation. Cornelius' exemplary life also offers monks and clerics a sound lesson in the life of Christian virtue.

² The blessings of creation provide a familiar theme for the Fathers of the Church, who almost vie with each other in their eloquent accounts of the beauty of creation and of the goodness of God which is manifested in His creatures.

³ The martyrs' sufferings, as well as the universe, are works of His great and varied providence. Chrysostom never fails to see the hand of providence in suffering and punishment, and one of his favorite examples is the punishment of Adam (cf. Stav. 2.3-7 and *ibid.* notes 7, 13, and 15). God's providence is particularly evident in the case of the martyrs: their souls are with God and enjoy the certainty of eternal blessings; their bodies are left with us on earth as a source of blessings, both spiritual and material, and to encourage us in the practice of virtue. This thought is usually supported by Wisd. 3.1: *The souls of the just are in the hands of God*, and is developed, e.g., in *De mart.* (MG 50.648B-C): "Do you see how powerful is the voice of the martyrs, even though their tongues are stilled? This is why God has left us their bodies; this is why, despite their victory of long ago, they have not yet risen. They endured their contests a great many years before; it is for your sake that they have not yet risen, so that they may help you to rouse yourself to run the same race after you have considered what great athletes they were. No harm is done to them by the delay, but their example does you the greatest good. For they will have their full reward hereafter, even if they do not have it now; but if God were to have taken them from our midst now, He would have taken from us a great source of exhortation and encourage-

ment. For truly all men derive the greatest exhortation and encouragement from the tombs of these holy ones." Cf. also *In s. Jul.* (*ibid.* 671D-72A): "For God has given us a share of the martyrs; although He has taken their souls to Himself, He has given us their holy bones, that we may have a constant memorial of their virtue." Speaking of St. Paul's holy remains, he says in *In kal.* (MG 48.953C): "His body lies in the imperial city of Rome, but his soul is in the hands of God." And there follows the citation of *Wisd.* 3.1.

⁴ *Wisd.* 3.1.

⁵ Soberness and vigilance of the spirit are always necessary conditions to any progress in virtue, and here, specifically, they are the necessary disposition for gaining any benefit from the lessons taught by the martyrs and from the graces diffused from their tombs.

⁶ Cf. *De mart.* (MG 50.647B): "That you may know that the martyrs have greater power when they are silent than we do when we speak, consider that although many men have spoken about virtue many times and at great length, they have accomplished nothing, whereas other men have said nothing but have achieved the greatest success by the shining example of their lives. All the more is this true of the martyrs, who have uttered not a single sound of the voice, but speaking with the tongue of their deeds, which is far more lofty than words of the mouth, they speak to all mankind, saying: 'Look upon us and the terrible sufferings we have endured. But what have we suffered who were condemned to death and found eternal life?'"

⁷ As well as here, Chrysostom speaks twice again (*Stav.* 8.1 and 16) of the *εὐλογία*, the blessing, which comes from the martyrs' tombs, and the question arises as to the nature of this blessing. Wenger (230 n. 3) holds that it was the holy oil which was kept burning before the shrine and which the faithful used for their devotional anointings. In support of his position, Wenger cites the homily *In martyres* (MG 50.664D-65A), which reads: "Do you wish to live a life of luxury? Remain beside the martyr's tomb, pour forth there your streams of tears, berate your mind, take up the blessing (*εὐλογίαν*) from the tomb. Having taken this blessing as your advocate in your prayers, spend your time in [reading] the accounts of his contests. Embrace his coffin and fasten yourself to his casket; for not only the martyrs' bones but also their tombs and coffins are rich with abundant blessing (*εὐλογίαν*). Take the holy oil and anoint your whole body, your tongue, your lips, your neck, and your eyes, and you will never fall into the shipwreck of drunkenness. For the fragrance of the oil recalls to your mind the martyrs' contests, it curbs your lack of temperance, it holds you in perseverance, and it overthrows

the ailments of your soul." This passage also throws light on the expression "clasp the dust," which must mean to embrace the tomb or coffin.

⁸ The Greek word is *παρησια*, confidence, holy audacity. Cf. n. 9 on Stav. 4.

⁹ The Day of Judgment, no matter what the outcome, is always "that dread day." Cf. n. 21 on Stav. 6.

¹⁰ Matt. 13.43. Wenger points out (231 n. 1) that Chrysostom and the other Greek Fathers show some hesitation and unsureness on the hereafter. There are two types of statements in their writings: in one they affirm that the souls of the just are with God and enjoy an ineffable happiness; in the other they say that the just are waiting, in great peace and certainty, to receive their reward at the time of the resurrection and the Last Judgment. These latter texts cannot always be understood exclusively of the beatitude of the body or of the *stola secunda*, as the spiritual writers of the Middle Ages would have said. Wenger exemplifies this by referring to a passage from an unedited homily of Chrysostom on the martyrs which makes up part of the newly-discovered MS., Stavronikita 6 (folios 138v-146). The passage reads: "The martyr no longer fears the devil, he no longer dreads the demons, he no longer fears that ease with which sin overcomes us; he is not eaten up by envy, nor devoured by desire, nor assailed by passionate love. He is subject to none of the changes which weigh heavy on us. He looks incorporeal powers in the face. The splendor which comes from his virtue matches the splendor of Gabriel. He stands before the throne of the King, casting forth rays brighter than the rays of the sun, waiting only for the immutable blessings which are free from every change. . . . They are seated in peace like a ship in port and they enjoy a happiness which no discourse, no thought, can express." However, Chrysostom goes on to say: "If such is their glory at this moment, think what it will be when they will receive their own portion and will enjoy that happiness." It seems that after the Day of Judgment the just will have their eventual share and will enjoy a happiness beyond that which they now experience. We find the same lack of precision in *Con. Jud.* 6 (MG 48.905A): "They [the martyrs] have come into Paul's choral band before they have their crowns, but they are borne along on the wings of the expectation of their crowns because they have escaped henceforth the uncertainty of the future."

¹¹ In *Hom. in Gen.* 20 (MG 53.170D) Chrysostom uses almost the same image when he says that confession is a remedy which is inexpensive and easy to obtain. "There is no need here to spend our money, nor to undertake a long journey, is there? This cure does not cause pain and

suffering, does it? Even though it costs nothing and causes no pain, it brings a quick cure. For the Master grants the medicine for our ailments in proportion to the strength and disposition of him who comes to Him. Therefore, if a man wishes to return to health quickly and to cure the ulcers of his soul, let him approach with a sober spirit, let him separate himself from the things of this life and pour forth warm tears, let him show great care, let him contribute an exact faith, let him trust the Physician's skill, and forthwith he will enjoy good health again."

¹² Cf. Stav. 3.8 and *ibid.* n. 21.

¹³ In showing the power of the martyrs' intercession, Chrysostom appeals to the experience of his hearers and cites the case of a woman who, through the martyrs' prayers, won the return of her husband from a distant land. Chrysostom puts the case so graphically that even today we get the feeling that he is talking about a definite and well-known incident. However, Wenger (233 n. 1) cites the same example from the unedited homily of Chrysostom on the martyrs (cf. above, n. 10) which both internal and external evidence places in Chrysostom's days at Constantinople; hence, this story may just have been one of Chrysostom's standard examples. Of course, this does not rule out the possibility that the story was factual and well known to Chrysostom's neophytes at Antioch. The passage from the unedited homily reads: "Many a time a woman has longed for her husband off in some distant place; she has come here [to the Church of St. Acacius in Constantinople] and has brought him back from the far-off land."

¹⁴ This second case seems to be another instance where Chrysostom takes a factual story and makes it into a standard example. For the martyrs as champions of Christ, see *Vidi dom.* 3 (MG 56.112B): "We have been deemed worthy to see men [the martyrs] waging war for piety, conquering, and being crowned as champions." For martyrdom as a spiritual warfare, cf. E. L. Hummel, *The Concept of Martyrdom according to St. Cyprian of Carthage* (Studies in Christian Antiquity 9, Washington 1946) 56-90.

¹⁵ This may well be a reference to the right of asylum. If so, it would mean that the *martyria* ranked with churches and statues of the emperors as sanctuaries. Cf. Stav. 3.14 and *ibid.* n. 30.

¹⁶ The power of the martyrs against demons and those possessed is a common characteristic of Christian piety in the early centuries. However, Chrysostom is here speaking more of the tyranny of the passions. The martyrs lighten the consciences of those who come to their tombs and confess their misery. The same idea occurs in the unedited homily on the martyrs (cf. above, n. 10): "Having touched the tomb which holds the [martyr's] bones, he lightens his conscience, relieves his mind, and

then departs." In *De mart.* (MG 50.649A-B) Chrysostom compares prayers at the martyrs' tombs to a spiritual retreat which brings gratification to the soul: "On this account God left their bodies here, so that, whenever the mass of business worries and the throngs of worldly cares enshroud our minds in darkness, either from concern over our own private affairs or those of the state—and there are many such—we may leave our homes, go forth from the city, say farewell to all these worries, and go off to the martyrs' shrine. There we may enjoy the fresh air of the spirit, we may forget our many occupations, we may luxuriate in leisure, we may be with the holy ones, we may, in behalf of our own salvation, beseech Him who presided over their contests, and we may pour forth our many petitions. After we have laid aside the heavy burden of our conscience, after we have deeply satisfied our souls, we can return home again."

¹⁷ We find the same image of the inexhaustible fountain, but in a somewhat different context, in *De mart.* (MG 50.649B-C): "The martyrs' tombs are nothing other than safe harbors, fountains of spiritual waters, treasures of wealth which cannot be taken away, which can never be tested and found wanting. Just as harbors receive ships over which many waves have poured and moor them in safety, so do the martyrs' tombs receive our souls over which have poured the waves of worldly affairs and they moor them in peace and safety. Just as the fountains of cool waters refresh our bodies when they are worn out with labor and weary from heat, so do these fountains cool our souls when they have been burned with the heat of evil passions; the very sight of these waters is enough to quench evil desire, soul-wasting envy, seething anger, and any other like harassment. Treasures of money cause many dangers for those who find them and, after they are divided into many shares, they become less by the division. In the martyrs' tomb there is nothing like this; their discovery involves no danger, nor does division decrease them."

¹⁸ Chrysostom never loses an opportunity to stress the fact that the Church makes no distinction of persons. Cf. Stav. 2.13 and *ibid.* n. 30. As usual, Chrysostom uses antithetical pairs. Although the Greek text reads ἐλαυνέμεν without the usual τὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, to contribute his fair share, the expression is so stereotyped that it can be readily recognized even in an abbreviated form. Cf. Stav. 1.19 and *ibid.* n. 27.

¹⁹ Cf. Col. 3.1, which reads "seek" rather than "mind."

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Cf. Phil. 3.20.

²² As in Stav. 6, after a long preface, Chrysostom comes at last to the topic of his instruction: *Seek the things that are above.* It seems quite

sure that Col. 3 was the reading from St. Paul in the lectionary for the religious service of the day which, as Wenger says (46), was Friday of Easter week. Chrysostom comments on this passage in much more vigorous and impassioned style in *In Col.* 7 (MG 62.345C-46), starting with a cry of admiration for St. Paul, "Bless me, where has he carried our thoughts!", which is echoed in the present Instruction (paragraph 21): "What a burning soul he has, and filled with what great yearning for God!" The commentary *In Col.* with its impassioned style belongs to Constantinople; here in Antioch, Chrysostom uses a more familiar and simple style as he talks to the newly-baptized. Surely, the neophytes came from every social class, but the majority must have been people of modest means, if we can judge from his insistence on showing that the Church gives dignity to the poor. At Constantinople, where his oratory is more impassioned, the commentary shows that perhaps Chrysostom was not always too prudent in observing moderation in his words. In both cities he contrasted the nothingness of worldly goods with the permanence of eternal goods. But at Constantinople he inveighs against extravagance, the unbridled love of gold, and against all the aberrations which this passion has stirred in the human soul. "I am afraid that women may go too far in this madness and take on the form of monsters. They probably want to have even hair of gold . . . and also to take melted gold and to anoint with it their lips, their eyebrows, and their whole bodies. If you do not believe me and think that I say this in jest, I shall tell you what I heard, or rather what is even now the case. The Persian king does have a golden beard, since men skilled in these matters wrap gold leaf around the hairs as they do on thread; and he reclines there like a monster" (*ibid.* 350A-B).

²³ Col. 3.2.

²⁴ Cf. Matt. 6.21.

²⁵ Matt. 6.33. In his commentary on this verse in *In Matt.* 22 (MG 57.302D-3C), Chrysostom lays more stress on the idea of providence than in the present passage. In fact, in the present passage he seems to be preaching an almost utilitarian morality and to suggest motives that are based on self-interest. This may well be because he knew his audience and their preoccupation with recompense and reward. Certainly, it is more a pedagogical device than any indication of a self-centered soul.

²⁶ Chrysostom returns to the theme of the martyrs and points out that they have put into practice Paul's counsel. Their desire for the blessings of heaven gave them the strength to triumph over torments. Wenger says (237 n. 1) that although Chrysostom often speaks of the torments of the martyrs and the cruelty of the tyrants and the executioners, there is no passage quite parallel to the description given in paragraphs 18 and

19. He goes on to say that this may be due to the fact that here their courage is described with reference to Col. 3.1 and, hence, the account takes on a more original character. However, G. Racle, "A la source d'un passage de la VII^e catéchèse baptismale de s. Jean Chrysostome," *Vigiliae christianae* 15 (1961) 46-53, holds that this whole passage has been shaped by Chrysostom's knowledge of the apocryphal 4 Mac.; he does not deny that the text of Paul had its influence but points out that 4 Mac. gives a very adequate illustration of the Apostle's words. Racle maintains that Chrysostom took not only the lofty themes whereby he characterizes the martyrs' attitude but also numerous expressions from the vocabulary of 4 Mac.

²⁷ Racle (*ibid.* 48) sees here the precise situation of 4 Mac., where Antiochus, who is called "tyrant" fifty times in the course of the book, presides at the execution of the Maccabees. The words used by Chrysostom are not the same, but the image he creates is quite close to "the cruel tyrant inflaming fire with fire under his cruel kettles, and then, in his boiling anger, leading the seven sons to other torments" (4 Mac. 18.20). In 8.2 we see the tyrant in violent anger; 10.17 speaks of him as a blood-sucker; and in 12.13 the seventh brother describes him as a savage beast.

²⁸ Chrysostom's list of tortures recalls a similar passage in 4 Mac. (8.12-13): "When he said this, he ordered that first the instruments of torture be set before him, so that he might persuade them by fear to eat the impure meats. The soldiers set before them wheels, limb-stretchers, racks, hip-twisters, catapults, caldrons, griddles, thumbscrews, grappling irons, wedges, and hot coals of fire." Chrysostom's expression "overcome their reason" seems strange, but according to Racle (*op. cit.* 49) is correct. He finds the word λογισμός, reason, eighty times in 4 Mac. In fact (*ibid.* 1.1), we read: "Since I am about to show in my most philosophical account whether pious reason is absolute mistress of the passions, I would give you the sound advice that you devote yourself to philosophy." And (*ibid.* 1.15-16) reason is defined as "mind with correct reckoning which esteems the life of wisdom. And wisdom, therefore, is the knowledge of divine and human things and their causes." Here are some parallels from the same 4 Mac.: "Your wheel cannot rule my reason" (9.17). "Cut, for you will not cut out the tongue of my reason" (10.19). "All sorts of torments were not strong enough to overthrow the reason" (15.11).

²⁹ "The hands of the executioners" must mean the "iron hands," i.e., the grappling irons of 4 Mac. 9.28 with which the executioners tore off all the flesh up to the chin and ripped away the scalp from the head.

³⁰ The punishment by fire is mentioned in 4 Mac. several times. E.g., "They made a bed of blazing coals under him and strained the wheel still

more" (9.19). "After he had been stretched on the wheel and his vertebrae had been broken, he was burned with fire" (11.18).

⁸¹ The eternal fires also figure in 4 Mac., although the word *gehenna* does not occur. E.g., "You [O tyrant] . . . will endure at the hands of divine justice an eternal punishment by fire" (9.9). "The justice [of God] will pay you with a more concentrated and eternal fire" (12.12).

⁸² There are several examples in 4 Mac. of the martyrs hurrying of their own accord to meet the punishment which awaits them. E.g., "O tyrant, I am not going to beg off from the test of virtue. I have come of my own accord, so that you will pay to the justice of heaven a penalty for more sins after you have slain me" (11.2-3). Cf. also 12.10; 14.5.

⁸³ Col. 3.1.

⁸⁴ A long-standing and solidly founded tradition dates the classification of the angels into nine choirs back to the Pseudo-Denis at the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. Here we have a classification by Chrysostom which is not far different from that of Denis. The question of Denis and, consequently, of the angels has come up again in recent times in E. Honigmann, *Pierre l'Ibérien et les écrits du Ps.-Densy l'Aréopagite* (Mem. de l'Acad. Royale de Belgique, Lettres, 47.3, Brussels 1952) 1-57. Wenger has discussed this in "Bulletin de spiritualité et de théologie byzantines," *Revue des études byzantines* 13 (1955) 152-57. Denis did not discover the nine choirs of angels, which were well known before his time. What he did do was to distribute them into three triads with precise functions and to establish within the triads a rigorous hierarchical order.

Just as Chrysostom often speaks of Satan and his demons (cf., e.g., Stav. 1.46 and 3.22), so, too, he often speaks of the angels. Cf. *In ascens.* (MG 50.443D): "If you wish to see the martyrs and the angels, open the eyes of faith and you will behold that spectacle. If the air is somehow filled with angels, the church is all the more filled; if the church is full of angels, all the more is this day filled with them, this day on which their Master was taken up." And a little further on (*ibid.* 444A): "A king orders troops to be stationed in all the cities, so that no barbarian foe may rise up and overrun them. Since the demons also fill this air, barbarous and cruel demons who always stir up war and are the enemies of peace, God has stationed against them armies of angels to repress them, if they but show themselves, and to preserve an unending peace for us. That you may know that they are angels of peace, listen to the deacons when they say in the prayers: Ask the angel of peace."

⁸⁵ Col. 3.3.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Cf. *In Col.* 7 (MG 62.346A-B): "Let us not grieve when we fail to

enjoy honor. If this life is not life but is hidden, we should live this life as if we were dead. *Then you too will appear with Him in glory* (Col. 3.4). Nor did Paul say *in glory* to no purpose, for the pearl is hidden as long as it is in the oyster. If, therefore, we are insulted or suffer some hurt, let us not be grieved, for this life of ours is not life; we are strangers and sojourners, for *you have died*, as Paul says. Who is so foolish that he buys slaves for one who is dead and buried, or builds houses, or has rich garments made for a corpse? No one. Let us not do so, then, but just as we seek one thing, namely, that we be not naked, so also let us seek one thing here. The man we were is buried; he is buried not in the earth but in water. Death did not destroy him, but He who destroyed death has buried him. This is not done by nature's law but by a command that is stronger than nature and its power. For anyone could destroy what is sprung from nature; what issues from this command no one can ever destroy. There is nothing more blessed than this burial, at which all rejoice—angels, men, and the Master of the angels. For this burial there is no need for a garment or tomb or any other such thing. Do you wish to see the symbol? I shall show you the baptismal pool, in which the man we were is buried and from which the new man arises. In the Red Sea the Egyptians were drowned but the Israelites arose. The same thing buries the one and begets the other."

³⁸ Cf. Rom. 6.6.

³⁹ Although again Chrysostom addresses both the newly-baptized and those who have long since been initiated, his lesson is directed primarily to those who have just received the sacrament. They are now citizens of heaven, and the shining robes they wear mark them as such. But the unworldliness of their conduct will be a better sign that, although in this world, they are not of it.

⁴⁰ The robe of baptismal grace does not grow old. Chrysostom has already made this point in Stav. 5.26 and Stav. 6.21-24, as he does also in *De res. dom.* (MG 50.441A-42A): "In the case of the body, after youth comes old age; here, after old age comes youth, and a youth which has no end, if such be our will. The grace [of baptism] is great but, if we will it so, it will be greater. Paul was great when he was baptized, but he became much greater thereafter. When he preached, he confounded the Jews; thereafter he was snatched into Paradise and rose to the third heaven. So, too, it is possible for us to increase, if we will it so, and to enlarge the grace granted in baptism. It will be increased and become more lustrous by our good deeds and will provide us with a brighter light."

⁴¹ Chrysostom now points out the means which will prevent us from growing old spiritually, and the first of these means is prayer. He is eloquent on the power and loftiness of prayer. Cf. *Con. Anom.* 7 (MG

48.766D): "There is nothing more powerful than prayer, nothing equal to it." In the same homily we read further (*ibid.* 768A): "Prayer is the harbor for those caught in a storm, it is the anchor for those tossed by the waves, the staff for those who totter; it is the treasure of the poor and the security of the rich; it is the cure for diseases and the guardian of health; it keeps our property undisturbed and quickly changes evil to good. If temptation comes, prayer easily shakes it off; if there is a loss of money or any other thing which brings grief to our souls, prayer quickly drives them all away. It is a refuge from our sorrow and the foundation for our joy. It is the starting point for unending pleasure, it is the mother of sound doctrine. The man who can pray diligently, even if he be the poorest of all, is nonetheless the richest of all." In *Hom. in Gen.* 30 (MG 53.280D) he not only defines prayer as "a conversation with God" but also cautions us about the answers to our prayers: "That you may know that prayer is a conversation with God, hear the prophet when he says: *Let my dialogue be pleasing to God* (Ps. 103.34), that is, let my conversation be seen as pleasant in the eyes of God. He cannot help us before we ask, can He? Hence, He waits until we give Him the occasion to deem us worthy of His providence. Whether we get what we ask for or not, let us always persevere in our prayer. Let us give thanks not only when we get our request but also when we do not. When God wills it so, not getting what we pray for is just as good as getting it, for we do not know what benefits us the way He does. So, we must give thanks whether we receive or are repulsed."

⁴² Cf. *Con. Anom.* 7 (MG 48.766D-67A): "If someone should come up to the emperor and talk privately with him in the presence of the army, the generals, the governors, and the consuls, he turns the eyes of all to himself and on this account is held in greater awe. The same would be true of those who pray. Consider how great a thing it will be that a mere man, in the presence of the angels, archangels, cherubim and seraphim, and all the other powers, can, with great freedom to speak, approach the King of those powers and converse with Him. What great honor would that man deserve from all? We could derive not only honor but the greatest benefit from our prayer even before we get our request. As soon as a man stretches his hands up to heaven and calls upon God, straightway he stands aloof from human affairs; in his mind he passes to the life to come, and thereafter he holds before his eyes the things of heaven and has nothing to do with the present life during his time of prayer—if he prays with diligence. If anger flares up, it is easily quelled; if passion blazes forth, it is quenched; if envy corrodes him, it is driven away with the greatest ease."

⁴³ The second means to prevent us from growing old spiritually is alms-

giving. The combination of prayer and almsgiving reminds Chrysostom of Cornelius the centurion, who is the classic example of these two virtues. This was especially fitting during the paschal season, when the book of Acts was read. Together with St. Paul, Cornelius is given to the neophytes as a model straight from Scripture. Chrysostom comments at great length on the story of Cornelius in *In act. apos.* 22 (MG 60.171-78), stressing his importance as a model for officers and soldiers.

⁴⁴ Acts 10.4.

⁴⁵ Cf. Acts 10.1-4.

⁴⁶ The practice of praying before and after meals seems to have been general among fervent Christians. Cf. *In Matt.* 49 (MG 58.498C), where Chrysostom is commenting on Matt. 14.19 (*and looking up to heaven, blessed and broke the loaves, and gave them to His disciples*) and he says: ". . . teaching us not to touch the table until we have first given thanks to Him who furnishes us this meal." In Homily 82 of the same series (MG 58.740A-B), commenting on Matt. 26.30 (*And after reciting a hymn, they went out to Mount Olivet*), he cries out indignantly: "Let those hear who after eating like pigs simply kick over the material table and rise up drunk when they should be giving thanks and ending the meal with a hymn. Hear me, you who do not wait for the final prayer of the mysteries, for that prayer is a symbol of the prayer of Christ. He gave thanks before giving [His body and blood] to the disciples, that we might also give thanks; He gave thanks and recited a hymn after giving to them, so that we might do the same." In Homily 55 (*ibid.* 545C-48C) Chrysostom comments on the prayer after meals used among the Syrian monks, in order to give a lesson and an example to those who pray neither before nor after eating.

⁴⁷ The mountains in the area around Antioch were filled with monks. Chrysostom, who had himself once led the monastic life, often praises this blessed state for which he never lost his longing. Cf. *In Matt.* 55 (MG 58.545B-50A). For Chrysostom's life as a monk and for monasticism at Antioch, cf. Baur 1.104-14.

⁴⁸ Hebr. 12.14. Just as prayer and almsgiving make up a combination of closely related virtues, so too do temperance (*σωφροσύνη*) and holiness (*ἀγιασμός*). Without holiness no man will see God; the temperate are the pure of heart and they shall see God. In commenting on the beatitudes in *In Matt.* 15 (MG 57.227D-28A), Chrysostom seems to understand temperance (in its combination with holiness) in the sense of chastity. "Blessed are the pure of heart, for they shall see God (Matt. 5.8). Behold again the spiritual reward! Here He calls pure either those who possess virtue as a whole (*καθολικῇ*) and have no evil on their conscience, or those who live a life of chastity (*σωφροσύνη*), for to see God we need no

other virtue so much as this one. Hence Paul said: *Strive for peace and that holiness without which no man will see God* (Hebr. 12.14). He is speaking of a vision which is possible for man to enjoy. Although there are many who are merciful and who are neither grasping nor greedy, they do fornicate and live a life of lust. Hence, Christ added purity of heart, to show that to be merciful is not enough." Hence, when Chrysostom recommends the combination of temperance and holiness, he is suggesting that temperance, chastity, holiness, and purity of heart are fundamental means for guarding the grace of baptism. In the pursuit of holiness, the examination of conscience is a valuable aid, as he states again in Stav. 8.17-18.

THE EIGHTH INSTRUCTION (Stavronikita 8)

¹ The occasion of his last meeting with the newly-baptized is enhanced by the presence of monks from the countryside who speak their own language (Syriac) but who must understand enough Greek to follow the Instruction and appreciate the compliments which Chrysostom pays to their virtuous lives. In his flattering description of the simple life of the countryfolk we can see Chrysostom's regrets and longing for the monastic life as he once knew it in the mountains near Antioch. The theme of this Instruction is: Abraham and the holy ones of the Old Testament received temporal promises and yearned for the good things of eternity; we have received the promise of eternal blessings but rush headlong after the goods of time. Again Chrysostom displays his great talent for showing how desirable are the blessings of heaven and how unstable are honors and riches, the blessings of earth. In conclusion, Chrysostom gives his last counsels to the neophytes and sketches for them a program for Christian living. Let them visit the church in the morning before work; let them return there in the evening to examine their consciences and to ask pardon for their sins. Let them be faithful to the services and not let themselves become involved in the cares of this material life. Let them always deserve the grace of the Holy Spirit and guard until the Day of Judgment the luster of their baptism.

The title gives a good outline of the three parts into which this final Instruction is divided: (a) address of welcome to the monks from the countryside around Antioch (1-6); (b) the main theme of his discourse (7-15); (c) moral recommendations and a final exhortation to the neophytes (16-25).

² The plural cannot mean Chrysostom alone, because he is not in the habit of praising himself. Probably it means that others shared with him

the burden of instruction and that the Bishop, Flavian, and other members of the clergy took their turns in addressing the neophytes. This would include visiting bishops, who were always numerous in Antioch and especially during the Easter season. Each visiting bishop usually spoke after the preacher and before the local ordinary. Cf. Baur 1.191 and also *Hom. in Gen.* 6 (MG 54.616C-D): "The gathering of clouds made the day rather sad for us, but the presence of our teacher [Flavian] has made it brighter. When the sun sends its rays from the midst of heaven's height, it makes bodies bright. So, too, the face of our loving father [Flavian] sends forth rays from the midst of his throne and brightens our souls. . . . Not only is he present with us, but he has brought with him a band of stars [other bishops] to make the brightness more abundant. So our church rejoices, the flocks leap for joy, and we begin our sermon with greater eagerness. For when there is a gathering of shepherds [bishops], there is safety for the flocks."

³ Notice how this reference to the martyrs again points to an internal bond of unity in this series of Instructions.

⁴ This mention of the people from the country (who do not speak Greek) makes it quite certain that these Instructions were delivered at Antioch and not at Constantinople. Of course, the capital city was cosmopolitan, and one could hear Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Gothic spoken there, but those speaking Syriac and Gothic would be strangers or soldiers. However, in the present Instruction the people who do not speak Greek are not foreigners but from the countryside of Antioch, where Syriac was spoken. Chrysostom brings this out in *De mart.* (MG 50.646D), where he is glad to see the people of Antioch and the country-folk united in piety, although separated by customs and language. He says: "Do not consider their barbarian tongue [Syriac] but look to their mind, which had been molded by sound doctrine. For what is the benefit of speaking the same tongue if there is a division of minds? And what harm is there in speaking different tongues when there is a union of faith?"

Who were these people from the countryside? In paragraph 4 below, Chrysostom speaks of their angelic lives and their love of wisdom, *φιλοσοφία*. Both of these terms make it clear that he is talking of monks, as does the description of a similar situation in *De stat.* 19 (MG 49.188D): "I consider today a very great feast because of the presence of our brothers who have made our city beautiful and have adorned our church. Although they are separated from us in language, they are one with us in faith—these people who live in tranquility a life of continence and piety. Among them there are no spectacles of lawlessness, no horse races, no harlots, none of the rest of the tumult of the city. They have driven out

every form of licentiousness and among them continence blooms everywhere." From this and what follows it again becomes clear he is talking about monks.

⁵ The spiritual banquet table seems here to mean the table of instruction and explanation of the Scriptures. When it means the mysteries and the Eucharist, the context usually makes this unmistakable. Such is not the case here.

⁶ Chrysostom here compares his instruction to provisions for a journey, *viaticum* (ἐπιδία), as he does also in *De Anna* 1 (MG 54.634B): "When we saw that all the countryfolk had come to town, we wished to give them these provisions for their journey (ἐπιδία) and send them away thus [prepared for the road]"; and again in *De stat.* 19 (MG 49.190D): "In return for their gifts, I mean their loving disposition, let us send them on their way, now that we have given them provisions for their journey."

⁷ The Church is above all classes based on rank or language. In the body of the Church, as in Christ, there is neither Greek, nor barbarian, nor slave, nor free. All are brothers and members of the same body. Chrysostom fought hard to better the lot of the poor and to rehabilitate the ethnic minorities, as here he pleads in favor of the Syriac-speaking people from the countryside. At Constantinople he was much interested in the Gothic colony, put a church at their disposal, and gave a magnificent sermon to their congregation on the catholicity of the Church (MG 63.499-510).

⁸ 1 Cor. 4.12.

⁹ Acts 20.34.

¹⁰ This quotation presents an interesting contamination of the formula of the beatitudes (Matt. 5.3-11) with the latter part of the text: *Therefore, whoever does away with one of these least commandments, and so teaches men, shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven; but whoever carries them out and teaches them, he shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven* (*ibid.* 19). The same erroneous citation occurs also in *Hom. in Gen.* 13 (MG 53.110B), where Chrysostom says: "Teaching by deeds is far more exact and deserving of belief than is teaching by words." The rest of this paragraph is closely paralleled in *De stat.* 19 (MG 49.189A): "You could see each one of these men at one time yoking his plow oxen, drawing his plow, and cutting a deep furrow; at another time you could see him mounting the holy pulpit and ploughing the souls of his subjects."

¹¹ The combination of love of wisdom (φιλοσοφία) and the angelic life points very strongly to the monastic life; if we had no indication beyond these, we could be reasonably certain that the visitors from the countryside were monks.

¹² For the occasions of sin which are rife in the cities, see *De stat.* 19 (MG 49.188D), quoted above in n. 4.

¹³ 1 Cor. 1.25. This paragraph is filled with Chrysostom's nostalgia for the monastic life.

¹⁴ The tirade against the pagan philosophers is a commonplace with Chrysostom. He often contrasts the Christian philosophy (the life of virtue according to the Gospels) to the philosophy of the world, notably in *De stat.* 19 (MG 49.189D-90), where he says that the so-called philosophers fled from Antioch in the time of danger, whereas the true philosophers, i.e., the monks, came into the city to comfort the people. Chrysostom gives as the distinctive marks of the philosophers the cloak, the beard, and the staff (*ibid.* 17 [MG 49.173D]). Cf. also *In Titum* 5 (MG 62.694A): "The philosophers with their long beards and wearing their cloaks"; *De virg.* (MG 48.537D): "We must not judge the philosopher by his hair and cloak." The famous passage of St. Paul on the wisdom of this world is commented on by Chrysostom in *De mut. nom.* 4 (MG 51.152D-53A): "*But the foolish things of the world has God chosen to put to shame the 'wise'* (1 Cor. 1.27). And how, tell me, do the foolish put to shame the wise? By their experience. For when you ask the widow who sits in the streets and begs—and often she is lame—about the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body, about the providence of God and His just punishments, about the accounting we must give hereafter and the dread Day of Judgment, about the blessings stored up for those who live good lives and the punishments with which He has threatened sinners, or any of the other vital questions, she answers you accurately and with great assurance. But the philosopher, arrogant because of his hair and staff, after many long laps of discussion, after all his pointless prating, cannot even open his mouth nor can he speak on these matters. Then you will know how *God has chosen the foolish things of the world to put to shame the wise.*" See esp. *In 1 Cor.* 4 (MG 61.29-49), where Chrysostom compares Christianity with the ancient philosophies and comes to the conclusion that the cross has made us all philosophers.

¹⁵ Cf. *Stav.* 2.9-11.

¹⁶ Chrysostom finally comes to the main theme of the Instruction: the virtue and example of Abraham. Why did he choose this theme? Possibly it was part of the reading from the Old Testament assigned for this day; certainly it picks up and continues the theme of the preceding Instruction: *seek the things that are above.* This is precisely what Abraham did, even though God had promised him material blessings. This passage has numerous parallels with *Serm. in Gen.* 9 (MG 54.623B-27B) and *Hom. in Gen.* 30 (*ibid.* 53.282-92).

¹⁷ Rom. 4.3; Gen. 15.6.

¹⁸ Gen. 12.1.

¹⁹ That is, in Ur of the Chaldees. Cf. Gen. 11.31.

²⁰ God's providential designs for Abraham are expressed in very much the same way in *Hom. in Gen.* 32 (MG 54.297C): "God saw to it that Abraham became the teacher not only for those dwelling in Palestine but for those in Egypt as well, and that the light of his virtue shone for all. Since his light was hidden like that of an unseen torch in the land of the Chaldeans, He removed him from there, so that he might lead to the path of truth those who were wandering in the darkness of error."

²¹ Gen. 12.1.

²² *Serm. in Gen.* 9 (MG 54.626D-27B) offers the same interpretation. After quoting Gen. 12.1, Chrysostom says: "Both the former land and that which was going to be given to Abraham later were material. What, therefore, did he say? Let us hear not Abraham but Paul, who was speaking about him, so that we may learn that Abraham was not looking to that land, even if God had promised it, but that he had put aside the things of this life and was yearning for the life to come. What, then, did Paul say? *In the way of faith all these died* (Heb. 11.13). And he was speaking of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and all the just men. Not Abraham alone but all of these were sharers in this philosophy. *In the way of faith all these died without receiving the promises but beholding them afar off (ibid.)*. What does this mean? That Abraham did not receive the promises, that he did not come into Palestine? Was God's word a lie? No, says Paul. He did come into Palestine, but that was not the promise for which he looked; it was the other Palestine in heaven for which he yearned, and he considered himself a stranger to all things of this life. Paul testified to that when he added: *acknowledging that they were pilgrims and strangers (ibid.)*. Tell me, is one who received a fatherland and so great a tract still a stranger? Yes, Paul says, for he did not look to this but to heaven. *For they who say these things show plainly that they seek another country, of which the architect and the builder is God (ibid.; cf. 14 and 10)*, that heavenly Jerusalem above. Did you see how God promised him a Jerusalem on earth but how he sought the one above? *For they who say these things show plainly that they seek another country. And if indeed they were thinking of the country from which they went out, they certainly would have had opportunity to return; but as it is, they seek after a better, that is, a heavenly country (ibid. 15-16)*. Hence, it was a promise of a material thing, but the just man's yearning was for the spiritual. We do quite the opposite, for He promises us heaven but we yearn for earth."

²³ Heb. 11.13.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 14-16.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 10.

²⁶ 2 Cor. 4.18.

²⁷ 1 Cor. 2.9.

²⁸ For other instances of shadows and dreams, cf. Stav. 7.15 and 19.

²⁹ Cf. *Serm. in Gen. 9* (MG 54.625D): "The promises of God are much surer than the things we have in our hands. Do you wish to learn how the present life is always uncertain, but how the life to come, which seems to be uncertain, is more sure and steadfast and stable? Let us examine, if you will, the bright things of the present life—I mean wealth, glory, power, and the honors which men can confer. You will see that nothing is less certain than these. What is less deserving of our trust than wealth, which often does not last till evening? Like a hardhearted runaway slave, it continually changes from this master to that and again from that one to still another. Glory is also like that. He who before shone out brilliantly and was famous, suddenly falls into dishonor and becomes nameless."

³⁰ Cf. *ibid.* (626A): "When the wheel is continually turning, you cannot see it on the same part of the rim, because by the speed of its spinning the top is always becoming bottom and bottom top. So, too, the force of our circumstances by continually turning produces ups and downs. So, too, in the case of wealth, power, and all the other things. They never remain in the same state; they imitate the streams of rivers and never stand still. What could be more uncertain than these things, which are so continually changing, flying off before they appear, leaping away before they arrive?" Notice that in the Instruction the image of the wheel of fortune comes at the end as a moral reflection; in the sermon on Genesis it is stated at the beginning as a principle, which is then illustrated by the example of wealth and power, etc.

³¹ Amos 6.5 (according to the Septuagint). Cf. *Serm. in Gen. 9* (MG 54.626B): "On this account, too, while speaking of luxury, wealth, and such things and assailing those who yearned for them as if they were enduring, the prophet said: *they consider them as lasting and not as fleeting*. He did not say 'as passing' but what is much greater, *as fleeting*; for they do not recede slowly but with great speed." Cf. also *Hom. in Gen. 1* (MG 53.25C-D): "That you may not think that I say this to make an idle accusation against luxury, listen to the prophet when he says: *Woe to them who are coming to the evil day, those that sleep upon beds of ivory and are wanton on their couches, that eat the lambs out of the flock and the calves out of the midst of the herd, that drink wine in bowls and anoint themselves with the best ointment, as if they considered these as lasting and not as fleeting* (cf. Amos 6.3-5 in the Septuagint). Did you see how great an accusation the prophet made against luxury as he said these things to the Jews in their stupidity, their ingratitude, and their daily gluttony? Consider the exactness of his

language. After he assailed them for their great gluttony and drunkenness from wine, he then added: *as if they considered them lasting and not as fleeting*, practically proving to them that enjoyment goes as far as the throat and lips and that it does not go beyond."

⁸² In *Serm. in Gen. 9* (MG 54.626B) we read: "When God promises, there is no change joined to His promises." And a little further on (*ibid.* C): "The promise is God's, and His gifts imitate Him who promises them."

⁸³ The conclusion gives a résumé of his moral teaching. Since this is the last instruction in the series for the neophytes, Chrysostom recalls to their minds the great lessons of baptism and outlines for them a program for the Christian life. The day should begin in the church with a morning prayer (if the mysteries are not to be celebrated that day). During his daily work, whether he works with his hands, is a soldier, or is a civil servant, the neophyte must not forget that he is ever in God's presence and he must be careful to avoid sin. In the evening he must return to the church to ask pardon for his sins. At night, while he rests his body, he must keep his soul vigilant. Vigilance cannot be separated in Chrysostom's mind from sobriety—*be sober and watch*—the necessary condition to all progress in virtue. Finally, under no pretext will the neophyte fail to participate in the mysteries every Sunday and whenever they are celebrated during the week.

⁸⁴ Here again, as in *Stav. 7.32*, we can see Chrysostom suggesting the examination of conscience. He has spoken at some length elsewhere on this practice, so important for perfection, and there is great value in quoting at least one of these passages. In *Non ad grat. conc.* (MG 50.659D-60C) he says: "Do you see how many testimonies prove to us that the recollection of our sins is profitable and that the recollection of our good deeds does us harm? On the other hand, to forget our sins brings harm, while to forget our good deeds brings profit. Do you wish to learn from another source that the greatest of good deeds is to recall our sins? Listen to Job. Just as he prided himself on his other deeds, so also did he pride himself on the confession of his sins, as he proved when he said: *But if, when I had sinned willingly, I feared the multitude of my people so as not to confess my sins* (cf. Job 31.33-34, Septuagint). The meaning of these words is this: the throng of my fellow slaves never led me to feel shame. For what profit comes from the fact that men do not know, if the Judge knows? Or what hurt comes from the fact that men know our sins, if the Judge is willing to free us from punishment? If all condemn me but the Judge acquits me, I take no account of their condemnation. If all praise and marvel at me but He condemns me, again there is no profit in their judgment. For we must always turn our eyes to Him and

do the same thing in the case of our sins which we do when we spend money. For straightway after we arise from bed, before we go to the market place or turn our attention to private or public business, we call our household slave and ask for an accounting of what has been spent, so that we may know what has been spent foolishly and what of necessity and how much is left. If we see that the balance is small, we think of all the ways we can increase our income, so that we may not perish from hunger without realizing what is happening. Let us do this also with our actions. Let us summon our conscience and hold an accounting with it of our words, deeds, and thoughts. Let us examine what has been spent of necessity and what to our hurt, what word has been spent badly on reproaches, foul language, and insolence, what thought has moved our eyes to licentiousness, what calculation of our mind has been carried out in act to our hurt, whether we acted with our hands, or our tongue, or our eyes. And let us be eager to refrain from untimely spending. To replace the money we have spent badly once and for all, let us find another source of income: in place of the words idly spoken, let us store up prayers; in place of the looks which became lascivious, let us put aside almsgiving and fasting. For if we should spend our resources at the wrong time and store up nothing, if we fail to put aside any good in our treasury, we will be swept into the most extreme poverty and without realizing it we shall, in addition, send ourselves into the punishment of eternal fire. We are accustomed to make an accounting of our money in the morning; after we dine in the evening, while we are lying in bed, when no one is there to disturb or interrupt us, let us demand of ourselves an accounting of all we have said and done in the course of the day. And if we shall see any sin there, let us punish our conscience, let us impose a penalty on our understanding, let us prick our reason so strongly that the memory of this chastisement we have administered at night will never dare to allow us, when we rise in the morning, to lead ourselves again into the depths of sin."

Chrysostom goes on to explain why the evening is the best time for this examination of conscience (*ibid.* 660D-61A). "That this time is more suitable for this examination, we may know from listening to the prophet when he says: *The things you say in your hearts, be sorry for them upon your beds* (Ps. 4.5). We do many things during the day, but not as we would. Our friends provoke us, our household slaves enrage us, our wife distresses us, our son causes us pain, we are besieged by a throng of worldly and civil affairs. We cannot then understand nor see how we are being tripped up. When we are apart from all these things, when we are by ourselves in the evening, when we enjoy great peace, let us organize a court in our bed, so that we may make God propitious to us

by this trial. However, if we sin each day and wound our souls but never notice it, like those who are constantly being wounded and then, because they ignored their wounds, contract fevers and bring on themselves irresistible death, so too shall we, from the continuous failure to perceive our sins, draw upon ourselves an irresistible punishment. I know that what I have said is tiresome, but it is very profitable." There is another passage very much like the above in *Exp. in ps.* 4 (MG 55.51C-52B).

³⁵ The gathering in church is for the celebration of the mysteries; hence, the time is Sunday or any other day when the calendar prescribed that the mysteries be celebrated. Cf. Baur 1.197.

³⁶ This program, with its high moral demands, might well frighten the weaker brethren. His hearers could object that their daily occupations would not allow them to fulfil all these obligations. If they did live up to the program, not only the city but every house in it would become a monastery. Chrysostom's answer is that if we seek first the things which are above, God will undertake to supply us with material goods in superabundance.

³⁷ This expression occurs in the same sense and with respect to the same conduct in *In Matt.* 22 (MG 57.305A). Cf. also *In prin. act.* 1 (MG 51.69C): "Therefore, wealth is called *χρηματα* [things to be used], that we may use them and not they us; property is called possessions, that we may possess them and not they us. Why do you have the slave as your master? Why did you reverse the proper order?"

³⁸ A conflated text. Cf. Matt. 6.32 and 8.

³⁹ Chrysostom here formulates an extremely lofty conception of man endowed with reason and freedom, master of his destiny. Free from material cares (for God undertakes to supply him with all such needs), man should busy himself only with spiritual things.

⁴⁰ Matt. 6.26.

⁴¹ For the descent of the Spirit, cf. Stav. 2.25, 26; 4.17.

⁴² The dread day, of course, is the Day of Judgment. Cf. Stav. 7.3 and n. 21 on Stav. 6.

THE NINTH INSTRUCTION (Montfaucon 1 = Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1)

¹ It should be recalled that this is both the *catechesis prima ad illuminandos* of Montfaucon (MG 49.223-32) and the first in the series of Papadopoulos-Kerameus. See Introduction 10 above and *ibid.* n. 23. After the thirty-day period of instruction the candidates will become brothers of the faithful, because they will be fellow members of Christ and citizens of heaven. Joseph had predicted that Pharaoh's cupbearer

would be restored to honor and again would present the cup to the king; Chrysostom predicts that the King Himself will present the cup of His blood to the candidates after their baptism. They will receive more graces than the clinical cases, because their hearts are well disposed. He tells them of the nature, purpose, and value of baptism as revealed by its names: bath of regeneration, enlightenment, baptism, circumcision, and a cross. He explains at length the bath of regeneration, which will wash them clean not only of ritual uncleanness, like the bath of the Jews, but of the real uncleanness of sin. Baptism regenerates like the fire of the smelter; by it their nature will be remolded as is the potter's clay. Their training period is a wrestling school where they will learn the devil's grips and tricks. They must learn to guard against sins of speech such as abuse, blasphemy, obscenity, slander, oaths, and perjury. They must avoid all swearing, and they can break this habit by enlisting family and friends to chide them when they fall. Habit is a second nature; a bad habit is cured by substituting a good one. The catechumens must set a time limit for breaking this evil habit and impose on themselves a penalty for failure to do so.

The text translated is that found in Migne, who has reprinted the edition of Montfaucon. Montfaucon personally knew of no MS. of this discourse and merely reprinted the text of Fronton du Duc, which was probably based on the eleventh-century Paris (B.N.) *codex graecus* 245 of the Coislin collection. It is to be regretted that Papadopoulos-Kerameus, who did have a Greek version of this Instruction from Moscow *codex graecus* 129 of the tenth century, did not see fit to edit it in *Var. gr. sac.*

² The combination of "loved and longed for" is found at the very opening of Stav. 1, where the days of the spiritual marriage of baptism are days of longing and love.

³ The word *νέος* can mean both new and young, and in his parallel Latin version Montfaucon translates: *juvenum fratrum chorus*. However, the catechumens were of all ages and conditions, and the point seems rather to be the newness of the relationship into which the catechumens will soon be born. The faithful are already sons of God and brothers of Christ (cf. Stav. 3.5; Rom. 8.14; Matt. 12.50); after baptism the catechumens will enjoy these same new relationships and, hence, Chrysostom can call them brothers.

⁴ Chrysostom is keenly aware of the intercessory powers of the newly-baptized and often begs for their prayers. Cf., e.g., Stav. 2.28-30.

⁵ Cf. Gen. 40.14.

⁶ The dream is recounted in Gen. 40.9-11; Joseph's interpretation is given *ibid.* 12-13.

⁷ 1 Cor. 2.9.

⁸ *Ibid.* Cf. Isa. 64.4. The candidates will gain these blessings through baptism, but they will possess them fully only in heaven.

⁹ Cf. Gen. 40.13.

¹⁰ The thirty days indicates the length of time spent in formal instructions. The duration of this period is affirmed below in this catechesis, where Chrysostom speaks of the training program for the catechumen (paragraph 29; MG 49.228B). However, Baur (1.81) points out that it was usual for the entire time of preparation to last two or three years. Those making the remote preparation attended the sermons and catechism classes; those who had been through this preparation and had been admitted as direct candidates for baptism must have gone through a more intense period of training in Christian morals and the mysteries. Since Chrysostom presently speaks so openly of the mysteries of the Eucharist, as he does also, e.g., in Stav. 2.27, it may be concluded that these catecheses were delivered to the catechumens directly preparing for baptism. Also in PK 3.4 (*Var. gr. sac.* 171), Chrysostom says he will tell them things which he cannot tell them when the uninitiated are present. Of course, the catechumens to whom he speaks are themselves as yet uninitiated, but from this passage we must consider them as apart from the general class of uninitiates, a situation which fits well with Baur's distinction between those making a remote and those making a proximate preparation for baptism. Cf. also Stav. 2 n. 28.

¹¹ Cf. Gen. 40.13.

¹² This further supports Baur's distinction mentioned above in n. 10. The power of the blood of Christ is treated at length in Stav. 3.12-19, but that Instruction, the Easter homily, was given after baptism. The cup is called "terrible," a common epithet of the mysteries, which are also called awesome and ineffable. Cf., e.g., Stav. 6.1 and 15; 7.23. For these epithets see J. Quasten, "The Liturgical Mysticism of Theodore of Mopsuestia," *Theological Studies* 15 (1954) 431-39.

¹³ Chrysostom speaks of a royal robe which Christ will put upon the catechumen in Stav. 2.19 and again in 4.12, where it is also called a shining cloak which replaces the old cloak of sin. In Stav. 6.24 it is a radiant bridal robe, and it is a commonplace with Chrysostom to exhort the newly-illuminated to keep this robe bright and shining, free from every spot and wrinkle. This seems to be the only place where he speaks of the robe as purple and in conjunction with a diadem. The reference to royalty is obvious. The Master not only takes the baptized soul as His bride but elevates it to His own royal station. In *Con. Anom.* 12 (MG 48.809D) Chrysostom tells us that only the emperor may wear purple and a diadem.

¹⁴ For the nuptial chamber, cf. Stav. 1.3 and *ibid.* n. 6.

¹⁵ The notion of good will and generosity is basic to Chrysostom's conception of the economy of grace. Good will is a necessary condition for receiving grace, and all that God looks for from us is that we be well disposed. Cf. Stav. 1.15, 18; 2.13, 14; 4.29. St. Paul is the great example of the well-disposed soul. Cf. Stav. 4.8 and esp. *ibid.* notes 20 and 21.

¹⁶ Cf. Stav. 1.25-29.

¹⁷ The abuse of postponing baptism was an abuse against which Chrysostom constantly fought; he denounced such conduct as senseless because of the uncertainty of receiving the sacrament in time and because of the loss of so many benefits even if it were received at the last moment. Cf., e.g., *In Joh.* 18 (MG 59.115B): "Is it not the utmost stupidity to postpone the gift? Listen, you catechumens and you who put off your own salvation until the last gasp!" (What Chrysostom is urging them to hear is the proclamation of John the Baptist to behold the Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world.) Cf. also *In act. apos.* 1 (MG 60.25A): "Think how I grieve when I hear that some unbaptized person has been removed from this world and when I think of those intolerable punishments and the inevitable condemnation [which await him]!" The usual excuse for postponing baptism was the fear of falling back into sin, but Chrysostom maintained that there was no need to fear this relapse, because God gives the strength to remain faithful. He has also provided other means for obtaining forgiveness, such as confession (ἐξομολόγησις), prayer, almsgiving, and good works (cf. *ibid.* 23A-24C).

The indifference and hesitation of the catechumens to receive the sacrament of regeneration was a source of scandal and made the pagans laugh. "The Greeks laugh at you for being a drone who lives without aim or purpose. If your philosophy is so powerful, they say, what is the meaning of this throng of unbaptized?" (*ibid.* 23D-24A).

¹⁸ Cf. Stav. 4 n. 3; PK 2.15 (*Var. gr. sac.* 161).

¹⁹ Chrysostom uses this same expression in describing the lamentable lot of the drunkard in Stav. 5.11.

²⁰ The hour of death is not the time for baptism but for one's last will and testament. Even in this the law requires that the testator be of sound mind: "Alive, with full knowledge, and in health I make this disposition of my property" (*In act. apos.* 1 [MG 60.23A]). Is it possible to initiate a person who is in a coma and cannot speak to pronounce his rejection of Satan and covenant with Christ? He who puts off baptism until the hour of his death is like a soldier who is going to fight when the war is over, or like an athlete who strips for the contest when the spectators are standing up to leave the stadium. Christ has not given baptism as a sacrament for the dead but as a source of life (*ibid.* 24-25). Chrysostom seems to have

considered the renouncement of Satan and the covenant with Christ as essential even in clinical cases. Cf. Stav. 2 n. 47.

²¹ Here again is the idea that God will not be outdone in generosity. Cf., e.g., Stav. 4.6 and *ibid.* n. 19.

²² "To contribute one's fair share" is a commonplace with Chrysostom and marks the part played by man in co-operating with God in the work of his own salvation. Cf. Stav. 1.19; 2.1; 4.6, 10, 11, 31; 5.19; 7.4, 10, 24, and the pertinent annotations. The present passage adds the notion that even what we contribute we have from God.

²³ 1 Cor. 4.7.

²⁴ Cf. Stav. 2.14 and *ibid.* n. 31 for the significance of the attitude of the catechumens and for parallel passages. *Ibid.* 12 also refers to the fact that, after the daily instruction, the catechumens were sent along "to hear the words of the exorcists."

²⁵ It is not unusual for Chrysostom to announce one subject and then suddenly turn to another. Cf. above 5. The question of exorcism is resumed in PK 2.14-18 (*Var. gr. sac.* 160-63), and that of the season *ibid.* 5-7 (*Var. gr. sac.* 157-58), which is strong internal evidence that Montf. 1 and PK 2 belong to the same series of instructions.

²⁶ Cf. Stav. 1.17; 3.23.

²⁷ Titus 3.5. The same text is quoted in Stav. 3.17.

²⁸ Stav. 1 and 2, Montf. 1 and 2, PK 2 (in St. Petersburg *codex graecus* 76 of the tenth century) and 3 are all addressed to those about to be baptized (lit. "enlightened"). Stav. 3-8 are addressed to the newly-illuminated or enlightened. Cf. also Stav. 5.20; 6.20 and 21.

²⁹ Heb. 10.32.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 6.4-6.

³¹ Cf. Stav. 2.11, 26 and the title; 3.6, 16, 17; 4.7, 31; 5.21, 26; 6.23; 7.22, 23; 8.16, and the appropriate notes.

³² Gal. 3.27.

³³ Cf. Stav. 2.11 and *ibid.* n. 23.

³⁴ Rom. 6.4.

³⁵ Col. 2.11. Although Chrysostom does not refer to baptism as a circumcision elsewhere in these Instructions, he does in his commentary on this text. Cf. *In Col.* 6 (MG 62.340A): "No longer, says St. Paul, is circumcision accomplished by the knife, but in Christ Himself, for the hand does not perform the circumcision as in the Old Law, but the Spirit circumcises not a part but the whole man. There was a body there, and there is a body here; but that body was circumcised in the flesh, this body in the Spirit; but not after the manner of the Jews, for you have put off not flesh but sin. When and where? In baptism."

³⁶ Rom. 6.6. Chrysostom cites this same text in Stav. 7.22, and in

commenting on it in *In Rom.* 11 (MG 60.485B) Chrysostom says that St. Paul does not say "crucified" but "crucified with Him," thus bringing baptism close to the cross. Cf. also *Con. Anom.* 8 (MG 48.775A).

³⁷ In *De bap. Christi* (MG 49.366C) Chrysostom says: "The baptism of the Jews was one which freed one from uncleanness of the body but not from sins on one's conscience. If a man had committed adultery or theft or some other crime, it did not free him from these charges. But if someone had touched the bones of the dead or had eaten forbidden foods, if someone had come from corruption or had contact with lepers, he was washed and remained unclean until evening; then he became clean. For his body will be washed with clean water and he will be unclean until evening and he will be clean (cf. Lev. 15.5 and 15). Yet these were not truly sins or uncleanness, but because the Jews were less perfect, God used these means to make them more devout and in bygone days made them more diligent in their observance of more important things."

³⁸ Cf. *Exp. in ps.* 9 (MG 55.139D): "Children make no account of things which are truly frightening and often even thrust their hands into the fire, but when they see empty masks they are afraid. The greedy are like these children, because they are afraid of poverty, which is not only not a terrible thing but rather the foundation of security. But they make great account of unjust wealth and avarice, which are more to be dreaded than fire." In *Exp. in ps.* 114 (*ibid.* 316B) Chrysostom says that just as mothers sometimes frighten their children with masks so that they will run to their embrace, so God in His great love reduces us to dire necessity that we may flee to Him. Masks which were used in the theaters by actors playing female roles (cf. *In 1 Thess.* 5 [MG 62.428A]) were fashioned with great splendor and beauty (cf. *In Titum* 2 [*ibid.* 675C]).

³⁹ Cf. *Exod.* 14.19 and *Gen.* 50.24.

⁴⁰ *Rom.* 14.14. Chrysostom comments on this text in *In Rom.* 26 (MG 60.637B-D).

⁴¹ *Rom.* 14.20. In explaining this text in *In Rom.* 26 (*ibid.* 639C) Chrysostom says: "That is, for the man who eats with an evil conscience. Hence, if you force him and he eats, there is no benefit; the eating does not make unclean but the intention with which you eat. Therefore, if you do not correct this intention, all you have done is in vain and you have hurt rather than helped."

⁴² Cf. *De bap. Christi* (MG 49.366D): "Therefore, the cleansing of the Jews does not free from sins but only from bodily uncleanness. Our baptism is not like that but is much greater and is filled with abundant grace; it frees from sin, it cleanses the soul, and it gives the abundance of the Spirit." He then goes on to point out that the baptism of John was greater than that of the Jews but much less than the sacrament and

served as a sort of bridge between the two. John's baptism did not give the Holy Spirit nor did it provide forgiveness through grace. It enjoined penance but could not forgive sin. In fact, Chrysostom tells us in *In Matt.* 12 (MG 57.206A) that the baptism of the Jews was abrogated with the institution of the sacrament: "Where there is the dignity of adoption, there is also the removal of evil and the granting of all good things. On that account the Jewish baptism ceases and ours begins; what occurred at the Pasch now occurs in baptism. After He had celebrated both Paschs, He abrogated the old and gave a beginning to the new; here again, after He fulfilled the baptism of the Jews, He opens the doors of the Church's baptism at the same time."

⁴³ 1 Cor. 6.9-10.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 11. Cf. Stav. 3.6 and *ibid.* n. 11.

⁴⁵ A note in MG *ad loc.* states that an old Latin translator wrote here *omni iniquitate*. The Greek MS. from which he translated must have read *πονηρία*, wickedness, instead of *πορνεία*, fornication. "Wickedness," being more general, is better suited to the universal cleansing power of baptism.

⁴⁶ The spiritual birth of baptism is without travail. Cf. Stav. 4 n. 6.

⁴⁷ *Con. Anom.* 12 (MG 48.809D-10A) says that it belongs to the emperor's munificence to forgive and remit the punishment of homicides, highwaymen, grave robbers, and criminals guilty of other disgraceful crimes. That the letters of the emperor were held in the highest respect is made clear in *Hom. in Gen.* 14 (MG 53.112C): "When letters of the emperor are being read, there is silence on all sides, all tumult and clamor stop. All prick up their ears in their desire to hear what the letters have to say, and it is very dangerous for anyone who would cause the slightest disturbance or interfere with the sequence of what is being read. You must stand here [in church] with much greater fear and trembling, you must observe a deep silence and dispel all disturbance of your thoughts, in order that you may understand what is said, so that the King of heaven may approve your attentiveness and deem you worthy of greater gifts." Also in *Hom. in Gen.* 44 (MG 54.406C-D) we read: "When the emperor who wears the diadem sends a letter, he who carries it may be a man of no account, an ordinary man who often enough cannot count his ancestors but is the nameless son of nameless parents. However, those who are going to receive the letter pay no attention to the bearer's lineage but, because he is bearing the letter of the emperor, they pay him great honor and receive the letter from him with great reverence and silence. If, then, one who carries the letter of a man and merely brings a piece of paper is received by all, much more should you receive with much attention the discourses which the Spirit sends to you through me, so that you

may receive a great return for your good dispositions." *Ibid. ad loc.* there is a note which states that both ecclesiastical and secular authors give evidence of the great reverence with which the emperors' letters were received. It also cites a story from Socrates (1.24) where a riot at Antioch over the deposition of Bishop Eustathius was quelled by the timely arrival of an imperial letter.

⁴⁸ Cf. *In Joh.* 11 (MG 59.75D-76A): "When the nature of fire unites with the earth of minerals, it straightway makes the earth into gold; much more so does baptism make into gold the clay of those who are washed when the Spirit falls like fire into our souls at that time. This fire of the Spirit consumes the image of clay and brings forth a new and shining image of a heavenly thing, just as the fire produces a gleaming image from the smelting furnace."

⁴⁹ Ps. 2.9.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 7-8.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 9. Although Chrysostom probably had commented on the second Psalm, his commentary has not come down to us. There is a short work on this Psalm, but Montfaucon pronounced it spurious and refused to publish it (cf. MG 55.34C).

⁵² Cf. Jer. 19.11.

⁵³ Cf. Jer. 18.6.

⁵⁴ There is no remission of sins by a new baptism. Cf. Stav. 3.23 and *ibid.* n. 49.

⁵⁵ On this whole passage, cf. Stav. 3.8-11 and the pertinent annotations. Again notice the emphasis on the struggle with Satan.

⁵⁶ Cf. *Ad scand.* (MG 52.522D): "The present life is a wrestling school, a training and a contest, a smelting furnace, and a dyer's workshop, in all of which the soul is prepared for virtue. Leather dressers take skins, shrink, stretch, and beat them against walls and stones, thus making them ready by all kinds of treatments to receive the dye before they put on the expensive coloring. The goldsmith gives over to the test of the furnace the gold which he casts into the fire to make it very pure. So, too, the trainers exercise the athletes in the wrestling school with many toils; they attack them more strenuously than an opponent would, so that they may perfect everything in training by practicing on the bodies of their teachers. In this way the athletes will be ready for the contests and prepared for the grips of their enemies and easily able to break them." For the whole question of training for the contest, cf. J. Sawhill, *Athletic Metaphors in Chrysostom* 10-27.

⁵⁷ Again the mention of a thirty-day training period. Cf. above, n. 10.

⁵⁸ Chrysostom lists some of the sins of speech in *In Matt.* 52 (MG 58.516A): "The things which make the mouth filthy are slander, blas-

phemy, railing words, angry words, obscene words, words which provoke laughter, and ribald words. If you are conscious of having said none of these words and of being stained with none of this filth, come forward with confidence; if you have acquired countless stains of this sort, why do you waste your time washing your tongue with water, while you still carry around this deadly and harmful filth on it?"

⁶⁰ Eccli. 28.22. There is a slightly different reading of this text cited in Stav. 1.32.

⁶⁰ Cf. Eccli. 20.20 (20.18 of the Septuagint, which Chrysostom quotes accurately).

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 28.28 (28.25 in Septuagint).

⁶² Cf. Ps. 140.2-3.

⁶³ Eccli. 22.33 (v. 27 in Septuagint).

⁶⁴ The tongue can be an instrument of wickedness or justice. In *De stat.* 4 (MG 49.66D-67A) Chrysostom says: "Let us prepare all the members of our body to be weapons of justice and not of sin. First of all, let us train our tongue to be a servant of the Spirit's grace by casting forth from our mouth all poison, wickedness, and use of foul language. For we can make each one of our members an instrument for wickedness or justice. Listen how some have made the tongue a weapon for sin, others for justice. *Their tongue is a sharp sword* (Ps. 56.5); but another says of his own tongue: *My tongue is the pen of the swift writer* (Ps. 44.2). The first accomplishes death, the second writes down the divine law. Hence, the one is a sword and the other a pen, not according to its nature as a tongue but by the choice of him who uses it. The nature of the two tongues is the same; the use is different."

⁶⁵ Prov. 18.21.

⁶⁶ Matt. 12.37. Cf. also Montf. 2.16 (MG 49.233D-34A).

⁶⁷ In fact, we must make our tongue like Christ's. In *In Matt.* 79 (MG 58.715A-B) Chrysostom says: "Let us speak in such a way that it may be clear from what we say that the words are Christ's. For not only if I say: *Arise and walk* (Matt. 9.5) or *Tabitha, arise* (Acts 9.40) do I speak the words of Christ, but much more do I do so when I am reviled and bless, when I am abused and pray for him who insulted me. I said that our tongue is a hand which touches the feet of Christ [in supplication]; now I say much more: our tongue is a tongue which imitates Christ, if it shows the proper zeal and if we speak the things He wishes us to speak. What are these things? Words filled with modesty and meekness, such as He uttered Himself in speaking to those who mistreated Him. *I have not a devil* (John 8.49), and again: *If I have spoken ill, bear witness to the evil* (*ibid.* 18.23), and to the disciple who betrayed Him: *Friend, for what purpose hast thou come?* (Matt. 26.50).

If you speak in this wise, if you speak for the correction of your neighbor, you will have a tongue like His. And God Himself said so. *If thou wilt separate the precious from the vile, thou shalt be as my mouth* (Jer. 15.19). Therefore, when your tongue will be like the tongue of Christ, when your mouth will be like the mouth of the Father, when you will be a temple of the Holy Spirit, what honor hereafter could be equal to this? Not even if your mouth were made of gold or precious stones will it gleam forth as now, when it is radiant with the adornment of modesty. What is more desirable than a mouth which does not know how to insult but is trained only to bless? If you cannot bless the one who reviles you, be silent. Succeed in this for a while and, as you progress and show the zeal you should, you will come to this and will have the kind of mouth of which I spoke."

⁶⁸ Cf. *De Laz.* 3 (MG 48.1001D): "Through habit the tongue rushes to utter that wicked word. When it does so, but before it utters it, bite it sharply on all sides with your teeth. It is better for your tongue to bleed now than that hereafter, when it desires a drop of water, it be unable to find that consolation. It is better for it to endure a temporary pain than hereafter to submit to the punishment of unending chastisement, as was the case with the rich man whose tongue was burning but found no relief."

⁶⁹ Tirades against swearing are almost a preoccupation with Chrysostom. Cf. Stav. 1.42 and *ibid.* n. 61. PK 2.3-4 (*Var. gr. sac.* 156-57), and 19-30 (*ibid.* 163-66) are devoted to the subject and offer some of the internal evidence which shows that Montf. 1 and PK 2 belong to the same series. Cf. Introduction 11. In *De Dav. et Saul* 1 (MG 54.676D-77A) Chrysostom says he will deliver a series of sermons on anger just as he had done on oaths, the latter referring to the series *De stat.* of the year 387.

⁷⁰ Swearing is one of the "elementary sins." We must learn to avoid this before going on to practice other virtues. Cf. *In Matt.* 11 (MG 57.201A-C): "Imitate the zeal of small children in this. They first learn the shape of the letters of the alphabet and then practice recognizing them even when they are turned different ways. After that they go on to learn to read. Let us do the same; let us divide up virtue and learn first not to swear, not to take false oaths, nor to use abusive language. Then let us go on to the next line and learn not to envy others, not to love our bodies, not to indulge our bellies, not to drink to excess, not to be cruel, and not to be slothful, so that we may progress from these to spiritual things and practice self-control, scorn of the belly, chastity, justice, contempt for reputation, modesty, and contrition. Let us then put all these together and write them on our hearts."

⁷¹ Chrysostom discusses the gravity of oaths, both just and perjured, in many places, but one is especially interesting. In commenting on the Septuagint reading of Zach. 5.2 (which has "scythe" for "volume" of the Challoner revision) he says: "*There was a flying scythe ten cubits wide*, said the prophet. The flying indicates the very swift arrival of the punishment which follows on oaths. That the scythe is ten cubits in length and breadth points to the vehemence and enormity of the evil. That it flies from heaven is a sign that the sentence is passed by the tribunal of heaven. That it is in the form of a scythe means that the punishment cannot be escaped. Just as the scythe which falls on the neck is not withdrawn by itself but still stays after the head has been cut away, so also the justice which comes upon those who swear is a dreadful thing and does not stop until it has accomplished its work. If we swear but escape [immediate] punishment, let us not feel confident. This happens for our hurt. After the time of Ananias and Sapphira, how many dared the same deeds but did not suffer the same punishment? How is it that they did not pay? Not because they are forgiven but because they are being kept for a greater evil" (*In act. apos.* 12 [MG 60.103D-4A]).

⁷² In the ninth homily *In act. apos.* (MG 60.82B-C) Chrysostom says that the habit of swearing arose after the time of Abraham and after the Jews had fallen into idolatry. Although they no longer believed in Him, they called on God as their witness when they wanted a surety worthy of belief to guarantee their statements, since they themselves were not worthy of belief.

⁷³ Cf. *Hom. in Gen.* 15 (MG 53.125A-B): "Let him flee oaths altogether, heeding the word of Christ which says: *It was said to the ancients, 'Thou shalt not swear falsely.'* But I say to you not to swear at all (Matt. 5.33-34). Hence, do not tell me that you are swearing on a just matter, for it is not allowed to swear either on a just or an unjust matter. Therefore, let us keep our tongues clean of oaths and in all these matters let us guard our tongue, and lips, and mind, so that no evil thought may be born within us or issue from our tongue."

⁷⁴ Savile notes a lacuna in the text and supplies it by the bracketed words.

⁷⁵ Matt. 5.37.

⁷⁶ Cf. *De stat.* 6 (MG 49.90A): "When we accuse those who swear, they bring up the cases of other people and say: So-and-so swears and so does So-and-so. Let us say to them: But here is So-and-so and he does not swear. God passes judgment on you from the example of those who succeed. Sinners do not help sinners by the fact that they all have sinned, but those who live the right life condemn the sinners."

⁷⁷ Acts 10.34.

⁷⁸ Cf. *In act. apos.* 10 (MG 60.92D-94A): "Since the tyranny of habit is so strong, change it into a different habit. How can this be? Let me say now what I have often said. Let there be many to take account of your words, many to examine and correct them. It is no disgrace to be corrected by others; rather, the disgrace is to thrust aside those who correct us and to do this to the harm of our salvation. If you put on a garment inside out, you allow your servant to correct you and you are not ashamed to learn from him, even if there is great shame in this. Tell me, when you are hurt in your soul by this habit, are you ashamed to be instructed by another? Do you allow a slave to set you to rights in the matter of clothes and shoes but not allow him to set your soul to rights? How foolish this is! Let yourself be taught by a slave, a child, your wife, a friend, a relative, or a neighbor. Just as a wild beast which is surrounded by hunters on every side cannot escape, so a man who has so many guards, so many correctors to hunt him from every side, cannot fail to be on his guard."

⁷⁹ Those who have broken the habit of swearing can be of special assistance to those who are trying to break it. Cf. *In act. apos.* 13 (MG 60.112A-B): "Let us all show abundant zeal: let those who have succeeded be zealous to guard against the old habit which has been corrected, that there may be no sliding back into what they left behind; and let those who have been left behind be zealous, so that they may rise up and be eager to fill up what is wanting. Meanwhile, let those who have succeeded hold out their hands to those who have not yet been able to do so. Let them stretch out their hands as to men who are swimming in the sea; let them bring them into a haven which is free from oaths. To swear no oath is truly a safe haven against being drowned by the storms which assail us."

⁸⁰ Cf. *In act. apos.* 9 (MG 60.82D): "Worse than this, everybody takes his oath over one obol, over some small matter or injustice." An obol was one sixth of a drachma, worth perhaps a penny.

⁸¹ Cf. *ibid.* 82C: "Tell me this. Suppose your slaves were quarreling and would not believe each other. If one of them were to say he would not leave until he got you, the master, as surety for his fellow servant's word, would he not receive lashes beyond counting? Would he not learn that he must not use his master for things like that?"

⁸² Chrysostom says in *In act. apos.* 10 (MG 60.94A): "He [who is trying to break the habit of swearing] will take it ill on the first, second, and third day; thereafter it will be easier, and on the fourth day he will not have the same trouble. If you do not believe me, try it. Heed me, I beg you. This is no small sin, nor is the correction easy." But cf. *ibid.* 8 (MG 60.73A-74A): "We imposed a law on ourselves not to swear,

and we corrected ourselves for three or four days. After that some necessity came upon us and we squandered all the profit we had gathered. Thereafter we fell into carelessness and despair, so that we were unwilling to try the same thing again. Naturally, for if a man builds something for himself and sees what he has built torn down, he is less eager to build again. But we must not be careless in this; we must cling to our zeal. Hence, let us impose laws on ourselves every day and begin with easy things. Let us cut out the habit of swearing aloud; let us put a check on our tongue; let no one swear by God. There is no expense here, no toil; no long practice is required. It is enough to will it and the thing is done, for it is a matter of habit." Chrysostom goes on to say that they would do much for him if he were in trouble. However, he says, he is in worse danger than if he were in prison or in the mines, because he has not been stern enough with them and will have to answer to God for this. He then continues: "Therefore, I proclaim loud and clear and I call all to witness. Let no one who has transgressed and spoken the things of wickedness—for such are oaths—cross the threshold of the church. Let this month be the appointed time for you to correct yourselves. Let no one say to me that the needs of his business are too pressing, because I do not believe it. During this month cut off the habit of swearing. I know that many will laugh at us, but it is better to be laughed at now than to weep later. Those who laugh at us are insane. Who, tell me, in his right mind will laugh because a commandment is being observed? Such people do not laugh at us; they laugh at Christ." Chrysostom's setting a ten-day period in the present Instruction probably is determined by what seems to have been the length of time between the first and second catecheses in this series. Cf. PK 2 n. 6 and Montf. 2.2 (MG 49.231B).

THE TENTH INSTRUCTION (Papadopoulos-Kerameus 2)

¹The Greek text for this and the following Instruction is found in A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia graeca sacra* (St. Petersburg 1909) 154–75. PK 2 is preserved in Moscow *codex graecus* 129 of the tenth century and in St. Petersburg *codex graecus* 76 of the same century. The St. Petersburg codex gives an alternate title: "To those about to be baptized. That baptism is called a cross and that the chalice means the passion. Also why our fathers decreed that those who come for baptism stand naked and unshod at the instruction. Also about swearing."

This Instruction resumes the matter of swearing, and Chrysostom asks the catechumens whether they have kept their promise. All may not

have done so but, for the sake of the zealous, he will tell them why Easter is the season for baptism. It is the time of Christ's triumph, and after baptism they will wear shining robes in the triumphal procession. The catechumens are Christ's partners in His cross, death, and resurrection, for that is what baptism is. Before Christ arose, He spent three days in the tomb, to show that He had truly died and, therefore, had truly risen from the dead. Chrysostom then explains why they go to exorcism naked and unshod. They are captives, but their captivity changes slavery to freedom and leads them home to heaven. The words of exorcism turn the catechumen's soul from a robber's refuge into a royal palace, and they drive out Satan. Again he returns to the subject of swearing and shows how it is a snare of Satan from which one cannot escape. Using the example of Herod, who swore to give the daughter of Herodias whatever she asked, Chrysostom shows that Herod had either to commit murder by keeping his word or perjury by failing to do so. Now that he has instructed them on the evil of swearing, the catechumens will find the penalty for swearing more severe. But baptism will wash away all their oaths, whether truly or falsely sworn, together with all their other sins.

² The connection between this Instruction and Montf. 1 is unmistakable. Cf. Introduction 11.

³ What they had promised (tacitly) was to break the habit of swearing within ten days.

⁴ This sentence is not found in the St. Petersburg MS.

⁵ The instructions seem to have been held daily and were given chiefly by the bishop. In the larger urban centers such as Antioch, the bishop was probably assisted by priests and deacons. The catechumens, as noted earlier (cf. Montf. 1, notes 10 and 12), were divided into two groups: those preparing remotely for baptism and those preparing directly to receive the sacrament. Both are catechumens, but the name belongs more properly to the former class; the latter were "those about to be illumined" (to whom the mystagogical instructions are delivered) or "those being illumined" (cf. Touttée, *Dissert.* 2 [MG 33.145-50]). Apart from the catechetical sermons, which seem to have been open to catechumens and faithful alike, it would seem that both classes of catechumens received instructions in separate groups. These instructions covered doctrine, morality, and liturgy. Perhaps those whose preparation was considered remote received instructions based on Genesis, dealing with God and creation. Those preparing for baptism directly were instructed in the Creed and the Pater Noster, as we know from the catecheses of Cyril and Theodore. Since neither the Creed nor the Pater Noster is treated formally in Chrysostom's catecheses, we may perhaps

conclude that they constituted the burden of these daily instructions (cf. Stav. 2.12). The bishop is always the father and the teacher par excellence. The plural is somewhat puzzling here: either it means the bishop and his delegated instructors, or the delegated instructors acting for the bishop, or the bishop of the place and visiting bishops who, we know, were accustomed to speak when visiting a brother bishop's see. The epithet "truly wise" suits all three categories but especially the first and last. Cf. P. de Puniat, "Catéchuménat," DACL 2.2 (1910) 2579-2621 (esp. 2590-95 for the catechumenate in the East in the fourth and fifth centuries).

⁶ The time and period referred to are the ten days given to the catechumens for ridding themselves of the habit of swearing. We may reasonably take this as evidence that PK 2 was delivered ten days after Montf. 1 (cf. Montf. 1.46 [MG 49.231A] and my n. 82 *ad loc.*). This interval seems to have been standard (cf. Montf. 2.2 [MG 49.231B]) for all except the Stavronikita series, where we have only two mystagogical discourses, of which the first was given at the beginning and the second at the end of the prebaptismal instructions. Cf. Introduction 11.

⁷ Heb. 13.17. The reference is to ecclesiastical superiors. Cf. *ibid.* 7, where the superiors are described as those *who spoke to you the word of God*. This again seems to point to the bishop as their chief instructor.

⁸ This sentence and the rest of the paragraph offer a good example of Chrysostom's simple use of type and reality, which is far removed from the allegorical interpretations of the Alexandrians. The liturgist and historian of Christian antiquities might well wish that Chrysostom had developed these themes rather than spent so much time on his pastoral concern for swearing. The "vessel holding not manna but the body of the Master" and, in the next sentence, "not a wooden chest holding the stone tablets of the law but one holding the blameless and holy flesh of the Lawgiver" seem to be clear references to reserving the Blessed Sacrament in the church. A. Barnes, in his article "Dove," CE 5 (1913) 145, states that the earliest mention of a dove-shaped vessel to reserve the Eucharist is found in the life of St. Basil attributed to St. Amphilochius (MG 29.cccii A), and further cites Chrysostom, *De stat.* 13, whose expression *convestitum Spiritu sancto* "is generally taken to allude to this practice of reserving the Holy Eucharist in a dove, the emblem of the Holy Spirit." I have not been able to verify the latter reference. However, the present passage seems to offer adequate evidence for the reservation of the sacred species in the church in some sort of vessel which was kept in some sort of wooden box. P. Morrisroe, in the article "Ciborium," CE 3 (1913) 767, says that there is evidence that the Eucharist was reserved in churches during the fourth century, but only for the sick.

Thereafter reservation was more common; the vessel used for this purpose was called by the various names of *capsa*, *pyxis*, *cuppa*, *turris*, *columba*, and *ciborium*, and was preserved either in the sacristy, in a niche in a wall or pillar, or, later still, in a little tower suspended by chains from the altar canopy. However, Barnes (*loc. cit.*) refers to records found in the *Liber pontificalis* which give evidence that Innocent I, Pope at the time Chrysostom was exiled from Constantinople, had given as gifts to some church *turrem argenteam cum columba*, a silver tower and dove. Chrysostom may well be referring to some such combination of receptacles.—There is a long and beautiful passage in *In Joh.* 46 (MG 59.259A–61A) on the difference between the manna and the true and living Bread.

⁹ Aaron's priestly vestments are described in Exod. 28. Wearing these, he would serve the ark of the covenant.

¹⁰ The first fruits are not the first to bloom but the excellent and noble fruit which has come to full maturity, as Chrysostom tells us in *In ascens.* (MG 50.446A). "Therefore, He offered the first fruits of our nature to His Father. The Father so admired the gift both because of the worthiness of Him who offered it and the purity of the gift that He received it with His own hands, placed it close to Himself, and said: *Sit at my right hand* (Ps. 109.1). And to what kind of nature did God say: *Sit at my right hand*? To the nature which had heard Him say: *Dust you are and unto dust you shall return* (Gen. 3.19). Was it not enough to pass beyond the heavens, was it not enough to stand with the angels, was this not an honor beyond description? But this nature rose above the angels, passed by the archangels, went beyond the cherubim, rose higher than the seraphim, went beyond the powers, and did not stop until it grasped the Master's throne. Do you not see the space between heaven and earth? Rather, let us begin from below. Do you not see the interval between hell and earth, and then between earth and heaven, and further, between heaven and the higher heaven? And the distance from there to the angels, the archangels, the powers, to the King's throne? He brought our human nature beyond all that intervening space. See how far down it was and how high it has come! Man could not have descended lower than he had gone nor gone up higher than Christ has led him."

¹¹ Heb. 9.24.

¹² There is an interesting passage pertinent to this in *De Christo pastore* (MG 52.830A–D), a homily which Savile considered doubtful and Montfaucon spurious. The passage reads: "When St. Paul wished to explain to the Hebrews the differences between the mysteries and the meaning of the table, the altar, the veil, the temple, and the priest, he referred them all to Christ and showed that the tabernacle was the whole of life (Heb. 8 and 9), but that the first tabernacle was a figure of the

Old Testament (Exod. 30), and the holy of holies was a figure of the New. Pay careful attention, please. There was one temple, but it was divided into parts; into the holy, and the holy of holies. The temple was a figure of our Lord's body; hear Him when He says: *Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up* (John 2.19). Just as in the [old] temple some things were seen by all and others only by the priest, so in the dispensation of our Saviour there is the divinity which remains hidden and the operation of divinity which works openly. You have a picture of the temple. Now look for the veil through the middle separating the holy from the holy of holies and see what kind of a veil it was. Again, the veil is a figure of the body. Just as the veil divided the place and separated what was seen outside from the inner mystery, so the body of our Lord was a veil for His divinity which prevented mortal eyes from seeing what was immortal. This is not my word, but Paul's who said: *Since we have, brethren, a new and living way which He inaugurated for us through the veil, that is, through His flesh, let us draw near* (cf. Heb. 10.19-20). Pay careful heed. St. Paul, too, called the temple flesh and the veil a figure of the flesh. Again, the priest used to enter through the veil once a year; Paul did not overlook this but took it as a figure of the Saviour and said: *For Christ has not entered into a holies made by hands, a mere copy of the true, but into heaven itself, to appear now before the face of God* (Heb. 9.24). You see the priest; behold the figure. And, again, a sheep was sacrificed and was a figure of our Saviour. *He was led like a sheep to slaughter* (Isa. 53.7). A calf was sacrificed and a bull and all the other animals; with his finger the priest took from their blood, entered the holy of holies, and before the propitiatory he sprinkled seven times. The propitiatory [cover of the ark of the covenant] was itself a figure of the Saviour, as was the blood with which it was sprinkled, so that both He who was adored and the gift offered to Him who was adored were one and the same. But the bodies of the animals whose blood was offered in the holies were burned outside the encampment; their ashes made men holy, and the relics of dead animals made holy those who were defiled. Notice, then. Living things did not make holy; but after they had been reduced to ashes, after they had been consumed in sacrifice, they brought holiness to the defiled, for they were the same animals which were burned outside the camp and sacrificed within. Hence, St. Paul says: *For the bodies of the animals whose blood is brought into the holies are burned outside the camp* (cf. Heb. 13.11). He there spoke of a figure but he explains the truth when he says: *And so Jesus also, that He might sanctify the people with His blood, suffered outside the gate* (ibid. 12). And what does he go on to say? *Let us, therefore, go forth to Him, bearing His reproach* (ibid. 13). You have

the figure; see the truth. Seek again the blood and the propitiatory. The blood is sprinkled, the propitiatory receives it, and propitiation is close at hand. What is the propitiatory? Hear St. Paul as he speaks to the Romans: *All have sinned and have need of the glory of God. They are justified freely by His grace, by His blood, through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus, whom God has set forth as a propitiation by His blood through faith* (cf. Rom. 3.23-25)."

¹³ Heb. 10.19-20.

¹⁴ Chrysostom makes the same point in Montf. 1.38 (MG 49.229D). Cf. also Stav. 4.32 and *ibid.* n. 63.

¹⁵ The parable of the sower is found in Matt. 13.1-9; Mark 4.3-9; Luke 8.5-15.

¹⁶ This seems to mean that those who have failed to correct this evil habit may expect to be excluded from baptism. Cf. Montf. 2.21 (MG 49.227B).

¹⁷ In *De stat.* 13 (MG 49.141D-42B) Chrysostom insists that all must correct the bad habit. "You might see this in the case of virtuous actions. When the evil are punished, others are improved; so, too, when the good succeed in something, many are led to a similar zeal, and this happens in the case of swearing. When people are seen to have put aside the evil habit of oaths, many have imitated their zeal and have overcome their own sin. Hence, I feel more ready to try again the same exhortation. Let no one tell me that many have succeeded in correcting this habit, for I did not ask that some but that all succeed. Until I see all corrected, I cannot rest. That shepherd had one hundred sheep but, when one was lost, he took no delight in the safety of the ninety-nine until he found the one that was lost and restored it to the flock (cf. Matt. 18.12-13). Do you not see that this happens in the case of the body? If we strike and bend back even one fingernail, the whole body feels pain with its fellow member. Therefore, do not tell me that there are a few left who have failed to correct the habit, but consider that these few uncorrected ones may corrupt many others. Among the Corinthians there was one adulterous man, but St. Paul grieved as if the whole city were lost (1 Cor. 5). And he was right, for he knew that if that man did not abandon his impurity, the disease would make its way along and assail all the others."

¹⁸ Cf. Montf. 1.11 (MG 49.225B-C). Note again an internal link between Montf. 1 and PK 2.

¹⁹ Cf. *In act. apos.* 1 (MG 60.24D), where Chrysostom is urging those who believe that Christ is God not to defer baptism; he says: "The grace gives freedom as a gift. . . . Are you waiting for Lent? Why? That season does not have anything more than other times, does it? The apostles were deemed worthy of the grace not at the Pasch but at another

season. When the three thousand and the five thousand were baptized, it was not the Easter season, nor was it Easter when Cornelius, the eunuch, and many others were baptized. Therefore, let us not wait for that season, for fear that, while we are delaying and deferring baptism, we may depart empty and with no share in the great graces it confers."

²⁰ After it became customary to confer baptism at Easter, probably in the third century when the catechumenate began to flourish, a suitable symbolism was found in the season: it is the time of Christ's triumph over death and sin; the season of victory is one of gifts and celebrations; the commemoration of Christ's cross, death, and resurrection is the suitable time for His partners to put off the old man, take on the new, and to rise up with Him. On the doctrine of baptism as a death and resurrection, cf. Stav. 2.11 and *ibid.* n. 23. For Easter as the solemn date of baptism in the East and West, cf. J. Quasten, "Die Versiegelung des Baptisteriums nach Ildefons von Toledo," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 77 (1958) 167-73.

²¹ These triumphal processions were called *παραλ.* The pomps of Satan are: the theater, the racecourse, every sin and observance of days (cf. Gal. 4.10), presages contained in chance utterances, and omens (cf. Montf. 2.52 [MG 49.239D]). PK 3.25 (*Var. gr. sac.* 172) lists the following: every form of sin, spectacles of lawbreaking, horse racing, gatherings filled with laughter and abusive language, portents, oracles, omens, observances of times, tokens, amulets, and incantations. Cf. also Stav. 2.20 and *ibid.* n. 45; Stav. 4.32.

²² This reading occurs nowhere in the Pauline writings. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (*Var. gr. sac.* 158) n. *ad loc.* compares Gal. 3.13, but in his commentary on this verse (MG 61.652D) Chrysostom quotes the text correctly.

²³ In Montf. 1, Chrysostom listed many of the names of baptism, calling it the bath of regeneration, enlightenment, baptism, circumcision, and a cross, but discussed there only the first of these names. Here he goes to the last name on the list and shows that baptism is a cross, death, and resurrection.

²⁴ Rom. 6.3.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 6.

²⁶ The St. Petersburg MS. reads here: "when He used the names interchangeably." For the meaning cf. *In Rom.* 10 (MG 60.480A): "What does it mean that we have been baptized into His death? Just as He was baptized into His death, so too have we, for baptism is a cross. Baptism is to us what the cross and burial were to Christ, although not with regard to the same things. He died and was buried with regard to the flesh; both of these happen to us with regard to sin. Therefore, Paul

did not say we have been united to Him in death but in the likeness of death (cf. Rom. 6.5). Both the one and the other are death, but not of the same thing. Christ's death was death of the flesh; our death is the death of sin."

²⁷ Cf. Luke 12.50.

²⁸ Matt. 20.20.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 21.

³⁰ The reading here is conflated from Matt. 20.22 and Mark 10.38.

³¹ Matt. 20.22.

³² *Ibid.* 26.39.

³³ Cf. 1 Peter 2.22.

³⁴ Cf. *De coem. et cruce* (MG 49.398C): "Consider what it is which is poured forth. It is blood, the blood which canceled the contract of your sins, the blood which cleansed your soul, which washed away the stain, which triumphed over principalities and powers." Cf. also Stav. 3.12-16; Stav. 3.21 and *ibid.* n. 45.

³⁵ Cf. Rom. 6.5. This verse does not read "through baptism," which Chrysostom has borrowed from the preceding verse. In the commentary *In Rom.* 11, the text is cited correctly and is explained as follows: "Nor did Paul say: if we become sharers in the likeness of His death. What did he say? *If we have been united with Him*, hinting by the word 'unite' at the fruit that comes to us from it. His body was buried in the earth and brought forth salvation as its fruit for the world; so also our body was buried in baptism and produced as its fruit justice, holiness, adoption, and countless blessings. And it will bring the final gift of resurrection. Since we were buried in water, He in the earth, we in the nature of our sin, He in the nature of His flesh, Paul did not say 'in death' but 'in the likeness of death.' Both the one and the other are death, but not of the same thing" (MG 60.484C).

³⁶ Cf. notes 26 and 35 above.

³⁷ *In Rom.* 10 (MG 60.480B-C) shows that these benefits will consist of a resurrection here and hereafter. "Did you believe that Christ died and rose again? Then believe the part that pertains to you, for your part is like His, since yours was also a cross and burial. If you were His partner in death and burial, so much the more will you be His partner in His resurrection and life. If the greater thing, sin, was destroyed, what need is there to doubt about the lesser thing, death? These are the things which Paul meanwhile leaves for the conscience of his hearers to consider. But while proposing the future resurrection, he demands of us another resurrection, a new way of life in this world coming from a change in our old ways. For when the adulterer becomes pure, the greedy man merciful, the harsh man gentle, here too is a resurrection which is a prelude to

the future resurrection. How is this a resurrection? It is a resurrection because sin has died, justice rises, the old life is destroyed, and the new angelic life is flourishing. When you hear of the new life, look for a great change and difference."

³⁸ Rom. 6.8.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 4.

⁴⁰ That is, in baptism.

⁴¹ The reference seems here to be again to the resurrection in baptism rather than to any specific recorded miracle.

⁴² The doctrine of Docetism or Illusionism plagued the Church from its earliest days. The idea that Christ's human nature was not real but an illusion was held by the earliest Gnostic sects and later attached itself to Manicheism. If Christ's human nature was an illusion, then there was no Incarnation and He did not really suffer and die; the illusion was effected either by substituting someone else (variously given as Simon of Cyrene or Judas) or by a visual deception. Cf. Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* 24.2), who combats the teaching that Christ was unborn, without a body, without a form, and only apparently seen as man. Cf. J. P. Arendzen, "Docetae," CE 5 (1913) 70-72.

⁴³ Cf. *In Col.* 6 (MG 62.341B-D): "He [the devil] would have done anything, if he could, to persuade men that He [Christ] had not died. . . . And, again, the Jews said: *If thou art the Son of God, come down from the cross* (Matt. 27.40). Since He had received a mortal wound, He did not come down and on this account was even buried. Although He could have risen immediately, He was buried so that people would believe that He had died. When a person dies in private, it is possible to make the accusation that the deceased has only swooned. But such is not the case here, for the soldiers did not break His legs as they did with the others, so that it was evident that He was dead. Those who buried Him were also evident, and hence the Jews themselves, together with the soldiers, sealed the stone. The greatest possible effort was made to keep it from being secret. And the witnesses came from the ranks of the enemy [the Romans] and from the ranks of the Jews. Listen to what they said to Pilate: *That deceiver said, while He was yet alive, 'after three days I will rise again.'* Give orders, therefore, that the sepulchre be guarded by soldiers (cf. Matt. 27.63-64). This was done and the Jews themselves sealed the tomb. Listen to them when later they said to the apostles: *You wish to bring this man's blood upon us* (Acts 5.28). He did not allow the manner of His death on the cross to be dishonored. Since the angels had suffered nothing such as this, He did everything by Himself, to show that death had achieved a great success, for this was, as

it were, a duel. Death struck Christ; even though He had been struck by death, He later destroyed it. He who seemed to be immortal was set free from His dead body, and all the world saw it."

⁴⁴ Cf. *De coem. et cruce* (MG 49.396D-97A): "Who shall declare the mighty deeds of the Lord? (Ps. 105.2). From death we have become immortal. Did you understand the victory and the way it was achieved? Learn how this victory was won without our toil and sweat. We did not bloody our weapons, we did not stand in the line of battle, we received no wound nor did we see the war, but we won the victory. The struggle was our Master's, but the crown of victory is ours. Since the victory is ours, let us, like soldiers, sing today with joyful voices the praises of the victory; let us praise our Master and say: *Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy victory? O hell, where is thy sting?* (1 Cor. 15.54-55 and cf. Osee 13.14). The cross has won these successes for us, the cross is our trophy against the demons, our weapon against sin; it is the sword with which Christ stabbed the serpent. The cross is the will of the Father, the glory of the Only-begotten, the exultation of the Spirit, the adornment of the angels, the safety of the Church, the boast of St. Paul, the bulwark of the holy, the light of the whole world."

⁴⁵ Cf. Matt. 27.63-66.

⁴⁶ Cf. *ibid.* 64.

⁴⁷ Cf. *In Matt.* 90 (MG 58.781B), where Chrysostom is commenting on Matt. 27.62-64 and says: "Everywhere error falls foul of itself and, even though it does not mean to do so, it pleads the cause of truth. Consider this: it was necessary to believe that He had died, been buried, and had risen again, and that all these things were achieved with the help of His foes."

⁴⁸ Cf. Stav. 2.12 and *ibid.* n. 27; Montf. 1.11 (MG 49.225B-C) and my n. 25 *ad loc.* The subject of exorcism is treated in Stav. 2.12-14.

⁴⁹ That is, the same reason as for the choice of Easter as the time for baptism. Cf. above, n. 20.

⁵⁰ Cf. Stav. 2.14 and *ibid.* n. 31.

⁵¹ Cf. Isa. 20.3.

⁵² The word "upturned" is interesting, since this posture in prayer was also used by the pagans. Cf. Horace, *Carmina* 3.23.1: "*Caelo supinas si tuleris manus.*" In the corresponding passage, Stav. 2.14, the hands are "outstretched."

⁵³ Cf. Isa. 53.12.

⁵⁴ Cf. Isa. 61.1.

⁵⁵ Ps. 67.19.

⁵⁶ The Church is the common mother of us all. Cf. n. 3 to Stav. 4.

⁵⁷ Eph. 2.19.

⁵⁸ Chrysostom does not give the "frightening and horrible words" of exorcism, but a formula has been given in n. 29 to Stav. 2.

⁵⁹ Cf. Stav. 2.12.

⁶⁰ Matt. 7.24.

⁶¹ Ps. 37.5-6.

⁶² The effects of exorcism, then, are the purification of the mind, compunction of heart, routing of the demons, and the spiritual preparation of the soul to receive its Lord and Master. Cf. also Stav. 2.12.

⁶³ In Montf. 1.11 (MG 49.225C-D) Chrysostom promised to talk about exorcism and has just finished keeping that promise (PK 2.14-17 [Var. gr. sac. 160-62]). He will return to the topic of the faithful in PK 3.11-18 (Var. gr. sac. 169-71), but he does not explain in any of these Instructions why the uninitiated are called catechumens.

⁶⁴ As noted before (Montf. 1 n. 24), it is not unusual for Chrysostom to announce one subject and then suddenly to turn to another. Here he resumes the topic of swearing which he treated briefly in Stav. 1.42 and at much greater length in Montf. 1.30-47 (MG 49.228C-32A). Cf. also the present Instruction 1-4.

⁶⁵ There is a problem here. *Εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν*, which should normally mean "until tomorrow" (understanding the noun *ἡμέραν*), has been translated "until the next Instruction" (understanding *κατήχησιν*). Reasons were given above in n. 6 for holding that PK 2 was delivered ten days after Montf. 1, which, in its turn, was given thirty days before Easter. PK 3 was given on Holy Thursday (cf. *ibid.* 19 [Var. gr. sac. 171]), and it is there (11-18 [*ibid.* 169-71]) that Chrysostom fulfils the promise to explain the name of "faithful," a promise which he calls "an old debt." These words could hardly apply to a promise made the day before. Hence PK 3 is "the next Instruction," but it seems unlikely in the light of the "old debt" and of the evidence given in n. 6 above that PK 2 was delivered on Wednesday of Holy Week.

⁶⁶ For another treatment of this paradoxical situation, cf. paragraph 27 of this Instruction and *ibid.* n. 77.

⁶⁷ Cf. the story of Herod and John the Baptist in Matt. 14.1-12; Mark 6.14-29.

⁶⁸ There is a parallel passage in *In Matt.* 49 (MG 58.490B-91B): "Because Herod had married his brother's wife, who had a child, John accused him moderately but frankly. Do you consider, please, that the whole scene is Satan's work. First, it was contrived of drunkenness and luxury, from which nothing healthy could come. Second, it had corrupt men as spectators and a host who was more lawless than all the others. Third, the delight was senseless. Fourth, the girl—on whose account

the wedlock was illegal—who should have been kept hidden because her mother was being treated spitefully, entered making a display of herself, a maiden more shameless than any harlot.

"And the occasion made no small contribution to this accusation of lawlessness. When Herod should have been giving thanks to God because on that day He had brought him into life, he makes bold to do these lawless deeds; when he should have set free his prisoner, he added murder to imprisonment. Listen, you women, both married and unmarried, who dare, where the marriages of other people are concerned, to disgrace yourselves in this way by leaping and dancing and bringing shame on our common human nature. Listen, too, you men who pursue rich banquets which are filled with drunkenness; fear the pit of Satan.

"The devil assailed that wretched man so violently that he swore to give away even the half of his kingdom. For Mark said (6.23): *And he swore to her, 'Whatever thou dost ask, I will give thee, even though it be the half of my kingdom.'* So much did he value his kingdom, such a captive was he to his passion, that he would give it to her for her dancing. And why do you wonder that this happened then, when even now, after so much instruction in sound doctrine, many men give away their souls for the dancing of these effeminate young men with no oath needed? They have been made captives by their pleasure and are led around like sheep wherever the wolf may drag them.

"This is what then happened to that madman, when he committed two most terrible crimes: first, when he made the queen so mad and drunk with passion as to refuse nothing, and, second, when he sealed the matter with an oath. Evil though he was, the queen was more evil than either her daughter or the king. She should have been grateful to the prophet but, instead, she was the architect of evil who contrived the whole drama. For it was in obedience to her that her daughter danced the disgraceful dance, demanded John's murder, and caught Herod in her trap.

"Do you see how right Christ was when He said: *He who loves father or mother more than me is not worthy of me* (Matt. 10.37)? If she had observed this law, she would not have transgressed laws of such importance and would not have committed murder. What could be worse than this brutality, namely, to ask for a murder as her reward and to ask for it publicly and shamelessly at a banquet? For she did not go up to Herod in private to make this request, but before the people she cast aside her [dancing] mask and, with uncovered head, she took the devil as her advocate and said what she said. For it was the devil who made her please Herod with her dancing and who then caught Herod in his trap.

"Where there is dancing, there the devil is. God gave us our feet to walk aright, not to disgrace ourselves and to jump around like camels—for their dancing is nauseating but that of women is much more so—but rather that we may join the chorus of angels. If the body is disgraced by such disgraceful action, the soul is much more dishonored. These are the dances the demons dance. These are the mockeries of those who serve the demons."

⁶⁹ In *In Eph.* 20 (MG 62.145C) Chrysostom says that the bridegroom should not permit dancing and lewd songs at his marriage feast. In *In Col.* 12 (*ibid.* 386C) he says that the marriage feast should be modest, holy, and orderly; instead, he sees dancers "leaping about like camels or mules."

⁷⁰ In *Montf.* 1.38 (MG 49.229D) Chrysostom is concerned in the same way over the fact that nobody considers swearing serious and, hence, the disease spreads and becomes more serious.

⁷¹ Apparently even Christians succumbed to the custom of holding wedding feasts which featured lewd dancing and songs. Cf. J. Quasten, *Musik und Gesang in den Kulturen der heidnischen Antike und christlichen Frühzeit* (Münster 1930), where Chrysostom's ideas on wedding feasts and dancing are discussed.

⁷² The thunderbolt is a favorite figure with Chrysostom. Cf. *Stav.* 1.38, 43 and *ibid.* n. 63.

⁷³ Cf. *Matt.* 14.8.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Cf. *Matt.* 14.4; *Mark* 6.18.

⁷⁶ Cf. *De stat.* 14 (MG 49.144B-C): "I asked you before to take up John's severed head still dripping with warm blood, to go home, and to consider that you see him before your eyes as he opens his mouth and says: 'Hate the oath which was my murderer. The accusation I made did not do this to me, but the oath did; what the king's anger could not do, the necessity of his oath accomplished.' When Herod was accused publicly in the hearing of all, he endured the accusation nobly; when he put himself under the stricture of an oath, then he cut off that blessed head. I now ask you and I will not stop asking you that, wherever we go, we go lifting up this head. Let us show it to all as it cries aloud and makes its accusation against swearing. Even if we be lax and careless, when we behold the eyes in that head as they look frighteningly at us and threaten those in the habit of swearing, we will be restrained by this fear more effectively than by any bridle; we will easily be able to curb our tongue and turn it aside from the assault of oaths."

⁷⁷ Cf. *ibid.* 144D-45B: "Even when we are neither desirous nor eager to do so, we can fall into perjury. First, when a man swears continually,

both willingly and unwillingly, both wittingly and unwittingly, both seriously and in jest, when he is carried off by anger or anything else, he certainly swears false oaths. No one will deny this, because it is so plain and clear that the man who swears many oaths must swear some false ones. Second, even if he does not experience this when carried away or against his will or without his knowledge, by the very nature of the thing he will certainly be forced to swear falsely with both knowledge and consent. Oftentimes at home, at breakfast time, when one of the slaves does something wrong, the lady of the house swears she will flog him; then her husband becomes quarrelsome, contradicts her, and swears she will not. Whatever they do, they certainly must commit perjury, for they cannot keep the oath even if they are desirous and eager to do so. Whatever happens, one or the other will be caught in perjury. Rather, they will both certainly be caught. Let me tell you how, for this is paradoxical. He who has sworn that he will flog the slave or servant girl and is then kept from doing so has both forsworn his oath by not doing what he swore to do, and has also bound by the charge of perjury the one who prevented him from keeping his oath. For not only the perjured but also those who force others to perjure themselves are liable to the same charges."

⁷⁸ Cf. Montf. 1.39 (MG 49.229D-30A) and my n. 73 *ad loc.*

⁷⁹ John 15.22.

⁸⁰ This theme is developed in Stav. 3.1-4. Recall that Stav. 3 also stands as the fourth sermon in the PK series.

THE ELEVENTH INSTRUCTION (Papadopoulos-Kerameus 3)

¹ The Greek text for this Instruction is preserved only in Moscow *codex graecus* 129 of the tenth century, which does not give the usual brief summary found for all the other catecheses except Stav. 1 and 3. As is the case with Stav. 1 and 2, Montf. 1 and 2, and PK 2, the matter of this Instruction is largely mystagogical, but it shows less moral exhortation than the other discourses to the catechumens. Like Stav. 1, it starts with the idea that baptism is a spiritual marriage wherein the Bridegroom is Christ, who ignores the difference in rank, comes to our human nature, and so loves His bride that He has laid down His life for her. The bride is the Church, which, despite the sins and ugliness of her children, is beautiful because clothed in Christ and shod with the readiness of the gospel of peace. Chrysostom then explains that the faithful are called such because they believe in things which the eyes of the body cannot see. With the eyes of faith they can see what truly happens in baptism

and truly grasp such mysteries as the Incarnation, even if they do not understand how they are accomplished. Next he treats of the renunciation of Satan and the covenant with Christ, the anointing of the catechumen, and his baptism. Then he recalls the story of Joseph and Pharaoh's cupbearer which he told at the beginning of the series (Montf. 1.2-3 [MG 49.223B-D]), begs them to remember him, and to pray for the Church, the bishop, the priests, and the people. Finally, he explains the symbolism of the sacred kiss with which the newly-illuminated are greeted before they participate in the sacred table. The explanation of the term "faithful" closely links the present discourse with PK 2; the reference to the story of Joseph and Pharaoh's cupbearer unites it to Montf. 1. There can be little doubt that all three discourses belong to the same series.

² "Today" is Holy Thursday. After two days the Bridegroom will come, on Saturday night, for their baptism. In paragraph 19 of this Instruction Chrysostom says that on the next day, "on Friday at the ninth hour," they will present their contracts to Christ.

³ This is the last of the mystagogical catecheses in this series. Recall that Stav. 3, the *Sermo ad neophytos*, also belongs to the PK series (cf. Introduction 12 and was probably delivered on Holy Saturday night after the reception of baptism and the Eucharist. It must also be recalled that Stav. 4-8 were delivered during the week following Easter and that a similar series probably followed the sermon to the neophytes in the PK series. Wenger feels that the four sermons *In prin. act.*, plus a fifth which has been lost, constitute the Easter week sermons for the PK series corresponding to Stav. 4-8 (cf. Introduction 18).

⁴ Since the Bridegroom is coming, this allusion to the parable of the ten virgins (Matt. 25.1-13) is particularly appropriate.

⁵ Cf. Stav. 1.12 and *ibid.* n. 16.

⁶ Matt. 25.6.

⁷ Cf. *Exp. in ps.* 5 (MG 55.63B-C): "What is marvelous and wonderful is that, after He had adorned her in this wise, He did not show forth His glory when He came, so that He might not stupefy and overwhelm her with His outstanding beauty, but He comes clothed in the same garb as His bride. For He shares in flesh and blood just as she does. Nor does He summon her from His home in heaven, but He comes down to her, observing in this the law which bids the bridegroom come to the bride. For this is what Moses said: *For this reason a man leaves his father and mother, and clings to his wife* (Gen. 2.24). And St. Paul: *This is a great mystery—I mean in reference to Christ and to the Church* (Eph. 5.31-32). Hence, after He came into her dwelling and found her filthy, unwashed, naked, and befouled with blood, He bathed her,

anointed her, nourished her, and clothed her with a garment, the like of which could never be found. He Himself is her garment, and thus robed He takes her and leads her up [to the nuptial chamber]." The combination of bathed, anointed, and nourished seems to be a clear reference to the three sacraments of baptism, confirmation, and the Eucharist, but all the anointings of which Chrysostom speaks in the catecheses precede baptism and, hence, cannot be the sacrament of confirmation. However, this is only an argument from silence, and the passage just quoted may be real evidence that the anointing of confirmation was in use at Antioch, where the *Expositiones in psalmos* were delivered. Cf. Stav. 1.3 and *ibid.* n. 6.

⁸ Cf. *Exp. in ps.* 5 (MG 55.63D), where Chrysostom says that the Psalmist speaks in behalf of the bride and starts out, as do advocates in the courts, by telling whom he is defending, and says that he is speaking *in behalf of her who is receiving an inheritance* (Ps. 5.1, Septuagint). "And for what does the heiress [the Church] ask? Let us listen: *Give ear, O Lord, to my words* (*ibid.* 2). She calls her Bridegroom her Lord, for this is the duty of a well-disposed bride. If it happens in the case of those who have the same nature that the wife calls her husband her lord, how much more is this the case with Christ and the Church, where He is by His very nature Lord?" (*ibid.*).

⁹ The Incarnation is the basis on which God's plan for our redemption rests.

¹⁰ Eph. 5.31-32.

¹¹ Cf. Stav. 1.17. In his commentary *In Eph.* 20 (MG 62.137A-B) Chrysostom tells husbands that they must love their wives as Christ loves the Church, His bride, and says: "Do you take care of your wife as Christ takes care of the Church. Even if you must lay down your life for her, even if you must be cut into a thousand pieces, even if you must endure and suffer everything imaginable, do not refuse to do so; if you suffer these things, you have not yet done what Christ has done. You do them after you have already been joined to your bride; He did them for a bride who turned away from Him and hated Him. She turned from Him, hated Him, spat upon Him, and insulted Him, but He brought her into subjection by His own great solicitude and not by threats, nor insults, nor fear, nor anything of that sort. So you must take care of your wife; even if you see her despising you, insulting you, and scorning you, you will be able to bring her into subjection by your great care for her, by your love and friendship. Nothing is more tyrannical [in a good sense] than these bonds, and especially for a husband and wife. You might be able to bind a slave to you through fear; rather, you could not even bind a slave, because he would be quick to jump up and run away. But you

must not bind by fear and threats your partner in life, the mother of your children, the foundation of all your joy; you must bind her to you by love and affection. What kind of union is it when the wife fears her husband? And what pleasure does he enjoy when he lives with his wife as if she were a slave and not a free woman? If you suffer anything in her behalf, do not revile her, for Christ did not do so. *He delivered Himself up for her, that He might cleanse and sanctify her* (cf. Eph. 5.25-26)."

¹² Titus 3.3.

¹³ Chrysostom often speaks against hatred of anyone or anything except Satan and sin. There is a whole collection (*ecloga*) of his sayings on hatred and enmity in MG 63.681-90. We must not hate our enemies or those who hurt us. "He who does not know how to hate does not know how to grieve but enjoys the luxury of a thousand blessings. . . . Let us refuse to hate any man, so that God may love us, may pity us, and show us mercy even if we are liable to Him for ten thousand talents. Did that man injure you? Then have mercy on him but do not hate him. Weep and grieve for him but do not turn away from him. You are not the one who offended God, but he is. You have acted well if you endured it. Recall that when Christ was about to be crucified, He rejoiced for Himself but wept for those who were crucifying Him. This is the way we must feel; and the greater the injury done to us, the more should we mourn for those who have injured us. Many blessings come to us from this, but for them come many evils" (*In Matt.* 63 [MG 58.595A-B]).

¹⁴ Cf. Stav. 1.3, 5-6.

¹⁵ In *Exp. in ps.* 5 (MG 55.63C) Chrysostom describes the garment as one "the like of which could never be found." It is called the royal robe in Stav. 2.25 and 4.12. It is free from every stain (Stav. 2.11), lustrous (Stav. 4.4), and gleaming bright (Stav. 4.18). In the last three places he either quotes or makes direct reference to the text from Galatians cited in the next sentence of the present Instruction. The baptismal robe is a symbol of Christ, whom the neophyte has put on.

¹⁶ Gal. 3.27. Cf. Chrysostom's commentary *In Gal.* 3 (MG 61.656C-D): "And why did Paul not say: *For all you who have been baptized into Christ* are born of God? For this would follow from his proof that you were sons. But Paul explains this in a much more awe-inspiring way. For if Christ is the Son of God and you have put Him on, since you have Him on yourself and have been made like to Him, you have come into one and the same relationship and form. *There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor freeman, there is neither male nor female. For you are all one in Christ Jesus* (Gal. 3.28). When Paul said: *We are the children of God through faith* (cf. *ibid.* 26), he did not

stop there but sought to find something further which could establish more clearly that our union with Christ was more intimate than that. And when he said: *You have put on Christ* (*ibid.* 27), he was not satisfied even with that statement but, in explaining it, he went beyond such a union and said: *You are all one in Christ Jesus* (*ibid.* 28), that is, you all have the same form and image as Christ. What could be more awesome than these words? He who was formerly a Greek, a Jew, a slave, now goes about with the form of the very Master of all things, showing forth in himself the Christ." Cf. Stav. 4 notes 13-14.

¹⁷ Ps. 44.10.

¹⁸ Cf. *Exp. in ps. 44* (MG 55.199B-C), where Chrysostom comments on verse 10 and says: "Did you see this excess of honor, did you see the weight of this dignity? To what a height He has led her, who had been trampled upon and was crawling on the ground, so that she might stand beside Him! She was a captive, estranged, a harlot, accursed, but do you know to what a place of honor she ascended? She stood with the angelic powers which serve Him. The Son, because He is of equal honor, sits at His right hand, but she stands there; for even if she is a queen, she is a created being. How, then, is it that Paul says: *God raised us up together, and seated us together in heaven in Christ Jesus* (Eph. 2.6)? Notice the exactness with which he speaks. He did not merely say: *God raised us up together and seated us together*, but he added: *in Christ Jesus*, that is, through Christ. For although the head is above us, he says, still we are the body; when the head sits above, we share in His glory, even if we are standing."

¹⁹ Ps. 44.10. Cf. the following note.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 14. Cf. *Exp. in ps. 44* (MG 55.199C-D): "But garments are, after all, on the outside and for the sake of those who see. However, this is the case only when they are material garments. When it is a question of spiritual things, turn the eye of your understanding within. The King wove this garment and put it on her through baptism, *for all you who have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ* (Gal. 3.27). Before this, she was nude and in disgrace, exposed to the eyes of all who passed by on the way; but from the moment He put this garment upon her, she was lifted to that height and was deemed worthy to stand at His right hand. Well did the Psalmist use the word *variety* of this garment. For it is not possible to be saved by grace alone, but there is need of faith and, after faith, of virtue. But it is not now a question of garments; the Holy Spirit was not so eager as to describe the golden garments of a woman. For if Isaias found fault with women who adorned themselves, and if the ornaments of luxury were cast aside (cf. Isa. 4.16-24), how could the Holy Spirit have here praised a woman who adorned herself?"

²¹ Eph. 6.15. Cf. *In Eph. 24* (MG 62.168D-69A): "He has put

beautiful leggings on us, the readiness of the gospel. Paul says this either that we may be ready for the gospel and may use our feet for this and may make ready and prepare the way for it, or, if he does not mean this, he says it so that we may be ready for death. For surely the readiness of the gospel is nothing more than the best life. This is what the Prophet said: *Thy ear attended to the readiness of their heart* (cf. Ps. 9B.17), that is, the preparation. *Of the gospel of peace* (Eph. 6.15), he says, and rightly so. Since he had mentioned war and battle (*ibid.* 11-14), he shows that there must be war with the demons; for the gospel is the gospel of peace. That war destroys the other war, the war against God; if we are at war with the devil, we are at peace with God. Therefore, do not fear it, beloved. It is the good tidings, and the victory has already been won."

²² There is a long and beautiful description of the beauty of the Church, the bride of Christ, in *Exp. in ps.* 5 (MG 55.62D-64B), part of which has been quoted in n. 7 above.

²³ Eph. 5.25-26. Cf. n. 11 above and *In Eph.* 20 (MG 62.137C-D): "Therefore, she was foul, she was disgraceful, she was ugly, she was vile. When you take a wife, you will not take such a bride as Christ took in the Church. Yet He did not loathe her, nor did He hate her for her extreme ugliness . . . but He delivered Himself up for an ugly bride just as if she had been comely, loving, and admirable. St. Paul marveled at this and said: *For scarcely in behalf of a just man does one die* (Rom. 5.7); and again: *When as yet we were sinners, Christ died for us* (*ibid.* 8-9). And after He had taken such a bride, He adorned her and washed her, nor did He refuse this, so that He might sanctify her, cleansing her in the bath of water by means of the word, in order that He might present to Himself the Church in all her glory, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing, but that she might be holy and without blemish (Eph. 5.26-27). He washes her uncleanness in the bath. By means of the word, Paul says. What word? In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit."

²⁴ Cf. Eph. 5.27.

²⁵ Eph. 1.1.

²⁶ The promise was made in PK 2.18 (*Var. gr. sac.* 162). Cf. my notes 63-65 *ad loc.*

²⁷ The eyes of faith are the eyes of the spirit. Cf. Stav. 2.9, 10, 17, 28. In Stav. 8.7-15, where the theme is that we have been promised the things of eternity but rush headlong after the goods of time, Chrysostom shows how valuable the eyes of faith are for seeing things in their true light and true worth.

²⁸ Cf. Stav. 2.9. This whole paragraph offers a good example of a

theme developed by antithetical pairs, a rhetorical device which Chrysostom uses with great skill and to excellent purpose in showing the symbolism of type and reality in baptism.

²⁹ Cf. Stav. 2.25 and *ibid.* n. 55.

³⁰ Cf. *ibid.* and n. 56, where the ministerial function of the priest is emphasized. Also cf. *ibid.* 10 and notes 20 and 21.

³¹ In the baptism of Christ in the Jordan, it was not John who baptized but the Blessed Trinity; so, too, it is God who baptizes us, while the priest serves as His minister.

³² Matt. 3.17.

³³ Cf. *ibid.* 16.

³⁴ Luke 3.16; cf. Matt. 3.11 and John 1.27.

³⁵ The formula is the standard one. Cf. Stav. 2.26 and *ibid.* n. 57.

³⁶ Here, again, we have the vexed question of the *redditio symboli* and the act of faith. Cf. Stav. 2.17 and *ibid.* n. 39.

³⁷ Cf. Stav. 1.20: "Faith, then, is the foundation of piety."

³⁸ Heb. 11.6.

³⁹ That is, the birth of baptism. Many may witness the actual ritual of baptism, but only the eyes of faith can see the soul's rebirth. Cf. above, paragraph 12.

⁴⁰ The shepherds and Magi, for example, came to greet Christ shortly after His birth. However, neither they, nor the Evangelists, nor any creature can explain the mystery of the virgin birth.

⁴¹ Matt. 1.18.

⁴² Luke 1.35.

⁴³ The teacher par excellence is the bishop, and the "instruction on faith" may well be the explication of the Creed or the Pater Noster or both. Both Theodore of Mopsuestia and Cyril of Jerusalem have explained various articles of the Creed in their baptismal catecheses; Theodore has also explained the Pater Noster. Chrysostom has touched on the Creed only briefly in these discourses and on the Pater Noster not at all. The bishop would not have given any lengthy series of instructions in this case, since it seems that he had delegated this task to Chrysostom and, perhaps, to others; but he might have given a brief explanation of the Creed prior to the *redditio symboli*. Cf. Stav. 2.17 and *ibid.* n. 39.

⁴⁴ From this statement we must conclude that the uninitiated, that is, those not proximately preparing for baptism, were excluded at least from the mystagogical discourses. Even though there is no specific mention of their exclusion in Stav. 1 and 2, Montf. 1 and 2, and PK 2, the similarity of subject matter therein treated puts them in the same class as the present discourse and, therefore, subjects them to the same restriction.

Arguing a fortiori, we may reach the same conclusion for the postbaptismal discourses (Stav. 3-8). However, the postbaptismal Instructions were not exclusively for the newly-baptized; Chrysostom urges those who had previously been baptized to retain or regain the luster of their baptismal robes in Stav. 3.20; 4.24; 5.20 (and cf. n. 43), 24-28; 6.21-25; 7.23 (and cf. n. 39); 8.16. We find similar exhortations in *In prin. act.* 1 (MG 51.74D-75A) and 3 (*ibid.* 96C-D), the series which Wenger (65) thinks may have complemented the PK series.

⁴⁵ This ceremony is treated formally in Stav. 2.17-21; Chrysostom alludes to it in Montf. 2.48, 51, 52, and 60 (MG 49.239D, 240D).

⁴⁶ These questions, it would seem, were the familiar "Do you renounce Satan" and "Do you enter into Christ's service," found, e.g., in the baptismal *Ordo* of Constantinople (cf. Conybeare, *Rit. Arm.* 440). The contract is the contract of faith (cf. Stav. 2.17 and *ibid.* n. 39), by which the candidate renounces Satan and avows his attachment to Christ (Stav. 2.21 and *ibid.* n. 47). The time, Friday at the ninth hour, leads to a problem, as has been set forth in n. 37 to Stav. 2.

⁴⁷ Chrysostom is fond of finding such mystical meanings. Cf., e.g., Stav. 3.16-17.

⁴⁸ The eyes of the body could see Christ on the cross; the eyes of faith could see the redemption of mankind and the birth of the Church.

⁴⁹ Luke 23.46.

⁵⁰ The place into which they were led is not specified, although Stav. 2.18 states that the candidates were brought in by the priests. It must have been the new "Great Church" built by the Emperor Constantine, octagonal in form, surrounded by chapels, exedrae, and galleries, and consecrated in 341 (cf. Baur 1.30-31). Whether they were led into the church proper or the baptistry is impossible to say, and this may have depended on the number of candidates. In Cyril of Jerusalem the ceremony took place in the baptistry (*Cat.* 19 [MG 33.1068A]); the *Ordo* of Constantinople (Conybeare, *Rit. Arm.* 438) merely states that the ritual occurred in the church, but, since the renunciation and covenant there took place en masse rather than individually, it seems more likely that the body of the church is meant.

⁵¹ In the unedited Vatican MS. (*Ottobon. graec.* 175) of the *Ordo* of Constantinople, the time is specified as the sixth hour on Friday. The printed edition of this *Ordo* (*Rit. Arm.* 438) makes no mention of the hour. Cf. n. 37 on Stav. 2.

⁵² Cf. Gal. 3.28 and above, n 16; cf. also n. 30 on Stav. 2.

⁵³ Stav. 2.18 mentions the same details of posture. Cf. *ibid.* n. 40.

⁵⁴ The explanation is the same in Stav. 2.18.

⁵⁵ Phil. 2.10.

⁵⁶ Cf. Stav. 2.18 and *ibid.* notes 41 and 42.

⁵⁷ Stav. 2.19 shows a similar digression.

⁵⁸ For the formula cf. n. 44 on Stav. 2.

⁵⁹ These refer to the theater, which Chrysostom often attacked as being Satan's pomp, the devil's festival. Cf. Baur (1.243-49), who cites several passages against the abuses of the theater, e.g., *De poen.* 6 (MG 49.314-15); *In Joh.* 1 (MG 59.28-29), 33 (*ibid.* 188), 60 (*ibid.* 333); *In 1 Thess.* 5 (MG 62.428); *In s. Bar.* (MG 50.682); *In prin. act.* 1 (MG 51.68); *De Dav. et Saul.* 3 (MG 54.695-97); *De stat.* 15 (MG 49.153 and 159). Cf. also Stav. 1.43 and 6.1.

⁶⁰ Chrysostom often attacks the hippodrome with the same vigor and for the same reasons as he attacks the theater. Cf. Baur (1.236-42), who again cites several passages attacking the abuses of the hippodrome and the sins to which they lead, e.g., *De Laz.* 7 (MG 48.1045 ff.); *De mart.* (MG 50.645); *Hom. in Gen.* 5 (MG 53.54), 6 (*ibid.* 54-57), 41 (*ibid.* 374); *De Anna* 4 (MG 54.660-61), 5 (*ibid.* 669-70); *Vidi dom.* (MG 56.113-14). Cf. also Stav. 1.43 and 6.1.

⁶¹ Cf. Stav. 1.39-40 and *ibid.* n. 58; Montf. 2.53-59 (MG 49.239D-40C).

⁶² Cf. Stav. 2.20 and *ibid.* n. 45.

⁶³ Cf. Stav. 1.16.

⁶⁴ Of course, the marriage of baptism is meant.

⁶⁵ This is a favorite theme with Chrysostom. Cf., e.g., Stav. 1.5-6 and paragraph 6 of the present Instruction.

⁶⁶ Rom. 10.12.

⁶⁷ Cf. Stav. 2.22 (where the formula for the anointing is given) and *ibid.* notes 49 and 50.

⁶⁸ Cf. Stav. 2.23.

⁶⁹ Stav. 2.23 does not mention the bride but stresses the aspect of the athlete who is prepared by this anointing for the combat with Satan. This is further emphasized in Stav. 2.24, which speaks of a second anointing—this time of the entire body.

⁷⁰ Note again the ministerial function of the priest. As in baptism, so also in the anointing, God is the one who performs the ritual through His minister. Cf. above, paragraphs 12-14 and *ibid.* notes 30-31. Recall that the priest is very possibly the bishop. Cf. Stav. 2.10 and *ibid.* n. 21.

⁷¹ 2 Cor. 1.21.

⁷² Cf. Stav. 2.24 and *ibid.* n. 54.

⁷³ Cf. Stav. 2.24 and *ibid.* n. 52.

⁷⁴ The word *ῥέματα* means the flowing waters of a stream or spring. It also occurs in Stav. 2.25, 27, 29; 3.26; 7.10. Flowing water was recom-

mended for baptism in the *Didache* (7); cf. J. Jungmann, S.J., *The Early Liturgy* (Notre Dame, Ind. 1959) 81-82.

⁷⁵ Cf. Stav. 2.25 and *ibid.* n. 55.

⁷⁶ Cf. Gen. 2.25.

⁷⁷ Cf. Stav. 2.25 and *ibid.* n. 56. If it seems strange that Chrysostom does not give the formula for baptism at this point, recall that it was given above in paragraph 14.

⁷⁸ Rom. 6.14.

⁷⁹ Gen. 40.14.

⁸⁰ Cf. *ibid.* 15.

⁸¹ The reference to the story of Joseph given at the beginning of Montf. 1 is unmistakable; it serves as an internal link between the two Instructions and makes it necessary to think of Montf. 1, PK 2, and PK 3 as constituent parts of the same series. Cf. above, n. 1.

⁸² Cf. Stav. 2.29 and *ibid.* n. 68. Cf. also n. 9 on Stav. 4.

⁸³ The *Ordo* of Constantinople (*Rit. Arm.* 441-42) also has prayers for the Church.

⁸⁴ Here is a clear-cut statement that the archbishop confers baptism.

⁸⁵ By this Chrysostom would mean his fellow priests. The term "council" was transferred from the secular to the Christian situation by Ignatius of Antioch. E.g., in his epistle *Ad Magnesios* 6.1, he says: "I urge you to be eager to do all things in the harmony of God, with the bishop presiding in God's place and the priests in the place of the council of the apostles. . . ." This sharp distinction between the archbishop and the priests with whom Chrysostom sits in council indicates that Chrysostom is not yet a bishop and, hence, that the PK series was delivered at Antioch. Cf. Introduction 10-11.

⁸⁶ Because of its close connection with the Holy Eucharist, the kiss mentioned here is much more likely to be the liturgical pax than the kiss mentioned in Stav. 2.27, which serves as a greeting for the newly-baptized as they emerge from the sacred waters. Cf. *ibid.* n. 62.

⁸⁷ Cf. Matt. 5.23-24.

⁸⁸ Cf. Stav. 3.5 and *ibid.* n. 9. Cf. also 1 Cor. 3.16 and 6.19.

⁸⁹ 1 Cor. 16.20.

THE TWELFTH INSTRUCTION (Montfaucon 2)

¹ This discourse stands in isolation from the rest, since it belongs neither to the Stavronikita series nor to that of Papadopoulos-Kerameus. Montfaucon called it *Catechesis altera* because it is the second of a series, but the rest of that series has been lost. Cf. Introduction 9-10. The MS.

tradition for this discourse is much richer than in the case of Montf. 1 (cf. *ibid.* n. 1), because it is often found as the last sermon in the MSS. of the series *De statutis*.

Montf. 2 was delivered ten days after the now-lost first discourse of the series to which it belongs; Chrysostom asks for proof that his first discourse has borne fruit and that the catechumens have successfully combated the vice of laxity. He then explains the names of "faithful" and "newly-illuminated": they will be called faithful because they believe in God and have as a trust from Him justification, sanctity, purity of soul, filial adoption, and the kingdom of heaven; they will be called newly-illuminated because their light is always new and they must never let it be extinguished. Therefore, when grace drives darkness from their minds they must see that Christ is their clothing, food, shelter, friend, brother, and father. They must beautify themselves by good conduct, guarding their hands, mouths, hearts, eyes, and ears so as to be ready for the marriage feast and the wedding garment which will be given to them. If they cannot correct their faults, they must not be baptized. They must repent their former sins and renounce Satan; they must make their souls a royal image. Only they can hurt themselves. No matter how maimed or weak they are, as long as they are eager, grace will come into their souls and make them recruits in Christ's army; He will prepare them for the contest with Satan and will protect them in the combat. But they must seek God in all things and reject wealth and jewels. Women must not adorn themselves with corruptible gold and pearls and finery, but with virtue. Gold is a pomp of Satan, and they must renounce Satan, his pomps, and his service. Other pomps which they must avoid are omens, charms, and incantations. The only magic formula for them must be: *I renounce thee, Satan, thy pomps and service, and I enter into thy service, O Christ*; the only magic sign for them must be the sign of the cross. With these words they will rout the devil and receive the crown of justice.

² Cf. Stav. 6.14 and *ibid.* n. 31.

³ Chrysostom explains the word catechesis in terms of its root, that is, *echo*. Today we usually understand the term in the sense of oral instructions in which the answer echoes the question. The catechumens were so called because they received oral instruction in the doctrines of Christianity, the words of which they were to keep echoing in their minds.

⁴ The mention of ten days definitely situates the present discourse as second in a series similar to that of Papadopoulos-Kerameus. The first discourse must have been given thirty days before Easter, as was the case with Montf. 1 (cf. *ibid.* n. 10); the second, then, would have been given ten days later, as seems to have been the case with PK 2 (cf. *ibid.*

n. 6). As in PK 2.2 (*Var. gr. sac.* 153), this period of time is deemed sufficient for amending the fault which here seems to have been that of laxity and negligence (cf. paragraph 3). Chrysostom often warns against this evil, e.g., Stav. 1.10, 38; 2.16, 19; 3.7; 5.9, 15, 21, 26; 6.1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 15, 20; 8.24.

⁵ If the ten-day period seems too short for amending a deep-seated fault, we must not forget that we have God helping us to do what we could not hope to do by our own unaided effort.

⁶ Ps. 94.8 (Septuagint).

⁷ Cf. Phil. 3.14. God's heavenly call is to citizenship in heaven, but it is a prize for which we must strive by never looking back but always forward. Commenting on the verse in *In Phil.* 12 (MG 62.271D), Chrysostom says: "See how great is the distance we must run, how high the goal. We must fly there on the wings of the Spirit; no other means can reach that height. We must go there with our bodies, but this can be done, for *our citizenship is in heaven* (Phil. 3.20); the palm is there." Cf. also Eph. 4.4-6: *Even as you were called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God and Father of all, who is above all, and throughout all, and in us all.* In his commentary *In Eph.* 11 (MG 62.79D-80D) Chrysostom says: "That is, God has called you to the same things; He has not given more to one than to another. He has granted immortality to all, eternal life to all, undying glory to all, brotherhood to all, and inheritance to all. He has become the common head of all, He has made all to rise together and to sit down together. Therefore, since you have such equality of honor in the things of the spirit, how is it that you are proud? Is it because So-and-so is wealthy and So-and-so is strong? How ridiculous this is! Tell me this. If the emperor were to take ten men, clothe them in purple robes, and seat them on the imperial throne, would any one of them dare to revile another because he was more wealthy or more illustrious? By no means! I have not yet told you everything, for the difference is not so great. If, then, we are equal in heaven, are we different on earth? *One Lord, one faith, one baptism.* There is the hope of your calling. *One God and Father of all, who is above all, and throughout all, and in us all.* No one is called greater for you but less for that man, is he? You were not saved by faith and he by works, were you? Was your sin forgiven in baptism, while his sin was not? Heaven forbid! *One God and Father of all, who is above all, and throughout all, and in us all.* *Who is above all*, that is, God is superior to all; *and throughout all*, that is, by His providence and governance; *and in us all*, that is, because He dwells in all of us."

⁸ Chrysostom frequently speaks of the various names of baptism. E.g., in Montf. 1.12-15 (MG 49.225C-26C) he speaks of it as the bath of

regeneration; in PK 2.8-11 (*Var. gr. sac.* 158-59) he calls it a cross, death, and resurrection.

⁹ Chrysostom says very much the same thing in PK 2.18 (*Var. gr. sac.* 162-63).

¹⁰ The Greek *οι εξωθεν* means "those on the outside," that is, non-Christians (cf. 1 Tim. 3.7). The context seems to make it clear that the outsiders are pagan philosophers. Cf. e.g., *De stat.* 19 (MG 49.189B), where pagan philosophers are called *οι των εξωθεν φιλόσοφοι*.

¹¹ The Greek reads *μετὰ παρησίας*, with confidence. Cf. n. 68 on Stav. 2, and n. 9 on Stav. 4.

¹² Job 1.1.

¹³ Cf. *ibid.* (Septuagint).

¹⁴ Eccle. 12.13.

¹⁵ Chrysostom treats the name of faithful in Stav. 2.9-10 and in PK 3.11-18 (*Var. gr. sac.* 169-71).

¹⁶ The almost commercial notion of faith found here, involving a mutual exchange, is not found in the other passages treating of faith but is somewhat reminiscent of Chrysostom's address to the sponsors in Stav. 2.15-16. Cf. *ibid.* n. 34. The pledges offered by God are some of the gifts which will come to the new faithful in baptism (cf. Stav. 3.6). Chrysostom makes much of the virtues of almsgiving and prayer, often speaking of them together (e.g., Stav. 7.27, 29, 30, 31) and in conjunction with temperance and holiness (*ibid.* 32).

¹⁷ Almsgiving is not really a giving but a getting. Again we notice the concepts of commerce applied to the life of virtue. Cf. Stav. 2.7 and *ibid.* n. 15.

¹⁸ Chrysostom proposes St. Paul as a model for the neophytes in Stav. 4.7-16 (cf. *ibid.* n. 20). Cf. also Stav. 5.19-23, where Chrysostom develops the theme that St. Paul increased the blessings he had received in his conversion by his subsequent toils and zeal.

¹⁹ God's provident care is a favorite theme with Chrysostom. Cf., e.g., Stav. 1.7-8, 17; 2.7; 8.23. Chrysostom here seems to hint also that the will does not act without grace, just as grace does not act without the will. Cf. *In Matt.* 83 (MG 58.742D-43A), where, after quoting Peter's boast: *Even though all shall be scandalized because of thee, I will never be scandalized. Even if I should have to die with thee, I will not deny thee* (Matt 26.33 and 35), Chrysostom goes on to say: "What he should have said was: If I shall enjoy the blessing of your help. Later he did speak in this way when he said: *Why do you stare at us as though by any power or holiness of our own we had made this man walk?* (Acts 3.12). We learn a great doctrine from this, namely, that the zeal of man is not enough unless he enjoys the blessing of assistance from above, and, again,

that the assistance from above does not benefit us if we are not zealous. Judas and Peter are both examples of this. Although Judas received much help, it did not benefit him, because he was unwilling and failed to contribute his share; although Peter was willing, he fell, because he received no assistance. For virtue is woven from these two threads. Hence, I exhort you not to put everything on God while you yourselves sleep, nor to think that when you are zealous, everything turns out well because of your own efforts. God does not wish us to be lazy and, hence, He does not do everything by Himself; nor does He wish us to be braggarts and, hence, He has not given us everything. He has taken away from each extreme what is harmful and has granted to us what is helpful."

²⁰ John 1.5.

²¹ In Stav. 3.1-4 the newly-illuminated by baptism are compared to stars of morning which shine in the light of day and outshine the sun.

²² This passage (together with the preceding paragraph) throws light on the meaning of Stav. 4.14. Cf. *ibid.* n. 35.

²³ The notion that death is a sleep is almost a commonplace with Chrysostom. Cf. Stav. 3.18 and *ibid.* n. 37.

²⁴ That is, the inequality of poverty, disease, and misfortunes.

²⁵ Gal. 3.27. For Chrysostom's commentary on this text, cf. PK 3 n. 16.

²⁶ John 6.58.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 57. In his commentary *In Joh.* 47 (MG 59.263C-D) Chrysostom considers this and the preceding text in their normal sequence and says: "And then Christ says: *He who eats my flesh abides in me*, to make clear that he is mingled with Him. What follows seems to be unconnected unless we examine the meaning carefully. What is the connection? After He said: *He who eats my flesh abides in me*, why did He add: *As the living Father has sent me and as I live because of the Father*? This statement does agree with what went before. Since He had often spoken of eternal life, He added by way of confirming this: *he abides in me*. For if he abides in me and I live, it is clear that he will live too. And when He says: *As the living Father has sent me*, this is a comparison and simile. What He means is this: I live just as the Father lives. But so that you may not think He is without generation, He immediately adds: *because of the Father*; however, generation in His case does not mean that He needs any operation to give Him life. To remove any suspicion of this, He said above: *As the Father has life in Himself, so He has granted to the Son to have life in Himself*. But if He should need operation to give Him life, it will follow either that the Father did not give it and so the statement is false, or, if the Father did grant this, that He will have no further need of someone to help Him. What does

because of the Father mean? It merely hints at the cause. What He says is this: As the Father lives, so also I live. *And he who eats me will live because of me.* He does not speak simply of any kind of life but of a glorious and ineffable life; this is clear, because all the unbelievers and uninitiated live, even though they have not eaten of that flesh. Do you see that He is not talking about that kind of life but of the glorious and ineffable one? What He says is this: he who eats my flesh, although he die, will not perish, nor will he be punished. Nor does He speak about the common resurrection, for all will rise again; but He speaks of the outstanding and glorious resurrection which has its reward."

²⁸ John 15.5. In his commentary *In Joh. 76* (MG 59.411A) Chrysostom gives a conflated reading for verse 1: *I am the true vine, you are the branches, and my Father is the vinedresser*, and his commentary reflects this conflated reading. Since Christ and the Father are one, so the Son, like the Father, cleanses and prunes the vine; but the Son is also the root of the vine, and only by abiding in Him will the branches bear fruit. "The Son contributes no less to the care of His disciples than does the Father. The Father cleanses the branches, the Son keeps them in Himself. But to abide in the root makes the branches bear fruit. For what is not cleansed bears fruit as long as it remains on the root, even if it does not bear as much fruit as it should; the branch which does not remain on the root bears no fruit at all. Nevertheless, it has been shown both that the cleansing also belongs to the Son and that to remain on the root belongs to the Father who begot the root" (*ibid.* D). Since this whole commentary is chiefly concerned with proving the divinity of Christ and His equality with the Father, we cannot expect here an explanation of the doctrine of the Mystical Body.

²⁹ Cf. John 15.15. The commentary *In Joh. 77* (*ibid.* 415D) shows the same preoccupation with the equality of Father and Son. Chrysostom says: "Do you see in how many ways He shows His love? He does so when He reveals what was secret, when He is the first to run to this friendship, when He grants them great blessings, and when He undergoes His sufferings for them. By this He shows that He constantly abides with those who will put forth fruit. For they need His assistance to put forth fruit. So that whatever you ask the Father in my name He may give you" (John 15.16). However, to do this lies in the power of Him who is asked. If the Father is asked, why does the Son do it? So that you may know that the Son is not less than the Father."

³⁰ 2 Cor. 11.2. Cf. Stav. 1.1 and 4. In his commentary *In 2 Cor. 23* (MG 61.553D-54B) Chrysostom, speaking in the person of St. Paul, says: "My zeal is like God's zeal, strong but at the same time pure. And then he gives the reason why this must be. *I betrothed you to one spouse*

that I might present you a chaste virgin to Christ. Therefore, I burn with zeal not for my own sake but for the sake of Him to whom I betrothed you. The present time is the time for courtship; there is another time for the nuptials, when they say: The bridegroom has arisen. What a strange, new situation! In the world they remain virgins before wedlock but not after. Here this is not the case. Even if they be not virgins before this marriage, they become virgins after it. Thus, the whole Church is a virgin. For Paul is speaking to all, both to husbands and wives, when he says this. Let us see what gifts for the bride he brings when he betroths us. Not gold or silver, but the kingdom of heaven. Therefore, he also says: *On behalf of Christ we are acting as ambassadors* (2 Cor. 5.20), and he appeals to us when he is about to receive the bride. What happened in the time of Abraham was a type of this betrothal. For Abraham sent his faithful servant to betroth a Gentile girl. Here God, too, has sent His servants to betroth the Church to His Son, and formerly He sent the prophets saying: *Harken, O daughter, and see, and forget thy people and thy father's house. And the king shall greatly desire thy beauty* (Ps. 44.11-12). Did you see the prophet betrothing her? Did you also see the apostle with great confidence uttering this word and saying: *I betrothed you to one spouse, that I might present you a chaste virgin to Christ*?"

³¹ Rom. 8.29. In the commentary *In Rom.* 15 (MG 60.541C-D) Chrysostom quotes the first part of this verse: *For those whom He has foreknown He has also predestined to be conformed to the image of His Son*, and then says: "Did you see this height of honor? For what the Only-begotten was by nature, they become by grace. However, it was not enough to say that they were conformed, but St. Paul also added: *that He should be the first-born*. Nor did he stop there, but even after that he again added something else, saying: *among many brethren*, because he wished to show in every way the clear relationship. But consider that all this was said about the plan of redemption, for in His divine nature He is the Only-begotten. Did you see how many and great are the gifts He has given? Therefore, do not doubt about those He will give. . . . *And those whom He has called, them He has also justified* (Rom. 8.30). He has justified them by the bath of regeneration. *Those whom He has justified, them He has also glorified* (*ibid.*). He has glorified them by grace and by adoption as His sons."

³² Isa. 8.18. Cf. n. 9 on Stav. 1.

³³ *Now you are the body of Christ, members depending upon each other* (1 Cor. 12.27). In his commentary *In 1 Cor.* 32 (MG 61.263D-64D) Chrysostom says: "So that no one may say: 'What does this example of a body have to do with us? The body is a slave to nature but

our good actions proceed from our free choice,' St. Paul applies this to our actions and shows us that we ought to have the same concord from our understanding as the limbs of a body have from nature when he says: *Now you are the body of Christ*. If our own body should not be in a state of discord, much less should the Body of Christ be in discord, to the same degree that grace is more powerful than nature. *Members depending upon each other*. For we are not only a body but we are also members. He spoke about all these before, when he gathered many into one and showed that all are one according to the image of the body, and that this one is constituted of many and is in many, and that depending on this one the many are held together and able to exist."

³⁴ Cf. Eph. 1.22-23. The commentary on this chapter in *In Eph.* 3 (MG 62.23-30) stops with verse 15. There is a beautiful passage in *In Matt.* 77 (MG 58.700B-D) which shows that Christ is not only our head but all things to us. "Would He not justly turn us away and punish us when He offers Himself to us in all things but we reject Him? Surely this is clear to everybody. For if you wish to adorn yourself, He says, take my adornment; if you wish to arm yourself, take my weapons; if you wish to clothe yourself, take my garment. Would you travel? Take my way. Would you be an heir? Take my inheritance. Would you find a homeland? Come into the city which I have built and made. Would you build a home? Build it in my camp. Nor do I ask you to pay for what I give; rather, I owe pay to you for this very thing, if you are willing to use all my blessings. What could match this generosity? I am your father, brother, bridegroom, house, food, clothing, root, foundation. I am everything you wish; you stand in need of nothing. I shall be your servant, for I came to serve, not to be served. I am your friend, your member, your head, your brother, your sister, your mother, and all things. Only be my friend. I was poor for you and a beggar; I was crucified and buried for you. I am in heaven with the Father on your behalf, and on your behalf I became an ambassador from the Father on earth. You are all things to me, my brother, my coheir, my friend, my member. What more do you desire? Why do you turn away Him who loves you? Why do you labor for this world? Why do you draw water in a leaky jar—for that is what toiling for the present life is? Why do you comb wool into the fire? Why do you beat the air? Why do you run in vain? Does not each art have its purpose? This is clear to all. But you do not have a purpose. *Vanity of vanities, and all is vanity* (Eccle. 1.2)." There is a similar passage in the same commentary (24 [MG 57.318]).

³⁵ After baptism the newly-illuminated will participate in the mysteries and receive the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist. We have here

clear evidence of how the Eucharist was received. This practice was quite common, if not universal, in the early Church. Theodore of Mopsuestia describes it in *Cat.* 16.27–28 (SeT 577–79): “You extend your right hand to receive the oblation which is given, but under it you put your left hand, and by this you show great reverence; if the right hand is extended and holds a higher rank, it is extended in this wise to receive the body of the King; while the left hand supports and conducts its sister [the right hand], it does not consider that it is hurt by fulfilling the role of servant for the hand which is equal to it in honor, because it also carries the body of the King. As the priest gives you [the oblation], he says: ‘The body of Christ.’ He teaches you by this word not to look at what is visible but to picture in your heart what the oblation has become by the coming of the Holy Spirit, for it has become the body of Christ. . . . This is why you say after him: ‘Amen.’ By this response you confirm the word of the priest and you countersign the word of him who gives you [the oblation]. In receiving the chalice, you do the same things.” Cf. F. J. Reine, *The Eucharistic Doctrine and Liturgy of the Mystagogical Catecheses of Theodore of Mopsuestia* (Studies in Christian Antiquity 2, Washington 1942) 182–85.

Cyril of Jerusalem is even more explicit in *Cat.* 22.21–22 (MG 33.1124B–25B) when he says: “Therefore, as you approach, do not come forward with your wrists extended nor with your fingers spread. Make your left hand a throne for your right, because your right is going to receive the King; make a hollow of your palm and receive the body of Christ, saying after it: ‘Amen.’ After you have carefully sanctified your eyes by touching them with the holy body, receive it and be careful not to lose any of it. If you lose it, certainly you have suffered by this a loss as it were of a limb from your own body. Tell me, then. If someone were to give you gold dust, would not you guard it with every care and see to it that you would lose none of it nor suffer any loss? How much more carefully, then, will you see to it that you do not let a crumb fall from that which is far more valuable than gold or precious stones? Then, after you have partaken of the body of Christ, come forward to the chalice of His blood, not with upstretched hands but bending forward in the manner of one who worships and reverences; sanctify yourself by partaking also of the blood of Christ and answer: ‘Amen.’ While the moisture from His blood is still on your lips, touch it with your hands and sanctify your eyes, forehead, and other senses. Then, while you are waiting for the [Postcommunion] prayer, give thanks to God, who has deemed you worthy of mysteries so great.” For the custom of the communicants’ signing their senses with the body and blood of Christ, cf. F. J.

Dölger, "Das Segnen der Sinne mit der Eucharistie," *Antike und Christentum* 3 (1932) 231-44.

³⁶ As the hands must be free from sin, so also must the mouth and tongue. Cf. *De stat.* 4 (MG 49.66D-67A), quoted in n. 64 to Montf. 1.

³⁷ We must not only keep our mouths clean but we must make them like the mouth of Christ. Chrysostom urges this in *In Matt.* 79 (MG 58.716A-B), where he says: "Speak, therefore, as He does and you are, in this respect, as like Him as a man can be. He who speaks this way is greater than a prophet, for prophecy is entirely a grace, whereas here you must toil and sweat. Teach your soul to mold for you a mouth like the mouth of Christ; if it be willing, it can do this, for it has knowledge of this skill unless it is careless and negligent. And how will your soul mold such a tongue? From what colors and material? It will mold it not from colors and material but from virtue alone, from modesty and humility. Let us see how the devil's tongue is made, so that we do not make one like that for ourselves. How is the devil's tongue molded? From curses, from insults, from witchery, and oaths falsely sworn. For when a man speaks the devil's words, he takes his tongue. What forgiveness will we have, or rather what punishment will we not undergo, when we allow to speak the devil's language that tongue with which we were deemed worthy to taste the Master's flesh? Let us not allow the tongue to speak that way, but let us show all zeal in teaching it to imitate its Master. If we teach the tongue to do this, it will make us stand with confidence before the tribunal of Christ. If a man does not know how to speak in this way, neither will the Judge give him a hearing. When the judge is a Roman, he will not listen to the defense of a man who does not know how to speak Latin. When Christ is the Judge, He will neither listen to you nor heed your plea unless you speak as He speaks. Let us learn, then, to speak in this way, so that our King may hear us. Let us be eager to imitate His tongue."

³⁸ We must, on the contrary, do all we can to help our neighbor. Cf. *Exp. in ps.* 143 (MG 55.462C): "What could be more grievous than this, namely, when we turn to treachery the very thing which was given to us so that we might help? We have our right hands for this purpose, so that we may bring help to ourselves and others when injustice is done, so that we may remove unlawfulness and become a harbor and refuge for those who are the victims of insolence. How will pardon be given to those who use these weapons not to save others but to destroy themselves?"

³⁹ Cf. *In Matt.* 38 (MG 57.425C-26B): "Just as filth and dirt block

up the ears of your body, so also do harlots' songs and worldly stories . . . block up the ears of your understanding more seriously than any dirt; these not only block them up but they make them unclean. Men who talk of these things are putting dung in your ears. What the barbarian threatened when he said: *You eat your own dung* (cf. Isa. 36.12) and so forth, these men force you to endure, not in word but in very fact. Rather, what they do is worse, because those songs are more foul than your excrement. And what is worse is the fact that, when you hear these songs and stories, you not only do not feel vexed and annoyed but you even laugh when you should feel loathing at them and run away. But if they are not disgusting and abominable, go down into the orchestra and imitate what you praise. Walk alone with the man who stirs up such laughter. You would not dare! Why, then, do you accord him such honor? Even the laws passed by the Greeks wanted actors to be deprived of civic rights. But you welcome them with your whole population, as if they were ambassadors or generals; you call together everybody, that they may get dung in their ears. But if your servant says anything disgraceful within your hearing, he will get a flogging; if your son, or your wife, or anybody else should do this, you call it an insult. But if men who need a good thrashing, who are not worth three obols, will invite you to listen to their disgraceful words, not only are you not indignant but you are glad and praise them. What could match this madness? Do you say that you yourself do not use such language? Is there any profit in that? Where is your proof of this? If you do not use such language, you would not laugh when you hear it, nor would you rush with such eagerness to hear the voice which brings shame upon you. Tell me, do you rejoice when you hear blasphemies? Do you not shudder and block up your ears? I think you do. Why? Because you yourself never blaspheme. Do the same in the matter of foul and obscene language. If you wish to prove clearly that you do not enjoy obscene talk, do not let yourself listen to it. When can you be a zealous man if you are nurturing yourself by listening to such language? When will you be able to endure the toil of chastity if little by little you are undermining it by laughing at disgraceful songs and language?"

⁴⁰ Cf. Stav. 1.32, where Chrysostom urges the catechumens to keep a close guard over their eyes and tongues and quotes Matt. 5.28: *Anyone who even looks with lust at a woman has already committed adultery with her in his heart*. He comments on this text at length in his commentary *In Matt.* 17 (MG 57.255D-57D).

⁴¹ The theme of the spiritual marriage is found in Stav. 1.1-18 and PK 3.1-10 (*Var. gr. sac.* 166-69). Cf. esp. n. 6 to Stav. 1.

⁴² Cf. Stav. 4.12 and 18 and *ibid.* n. 39.

⁴³ It is best to remain a neophyte all one's life, but those who have lost the luster of their baptismal robes by sin can recover their innocence by a sincere conversion. Cf. Stav. 5.24-27; 6.23 and *ibid.* n. 46.

⁴⁴ Chrysostom may seem almost overly severe in excluding from baptism those who have not yet developed a facility in virtue; however, the supernatural builds on the natural, and habits, including vices, are second natures. Hence, there is need for prudence in admitting to baptism adults whose bad habits are deeply rooted. It is possible, nevertheless, that Chrysostom did not fully appreciate the role of grace in conversion.

⁴⁵ Cf. Luke 3.8.

⁴⁶ Acts 2.38.

⁴⁷ The reproach may have been a legal charge. Certainly, imperial images were held in high honor; to deface them was an act likely to bring the severest penalties, as we know from the whole series of sermons *De stat.* Chrysostom speaks often of imperial images and insignia. Cf. Stav. 1.45 (and n. 65); 3.14 (and n. 30); 4.17 (and n. 38), 18; and the parallel passages cited in n. 65 to Stav. 1.

⁴⁸ While in exile, Chrysostom wrote a very beautiful treatise on this subject, *Quod nemo laeditur nisi a seipso* (MG 52.459-80), where he makes several of the same points which he makes in the following paragraphs. Cf. also *De stat.* 18 (MG 49.186C-88C).

⁴⁹ In *De diab. tent.* 3 (MG 49.263-70) Chrysostom shows that wickedness comes from sloth, while diligence gives rise to virtue. Neither evil men nor the devil himself can hurt the man who is sober and watchful.

⁵⁰ We find the most perfect example of virtue in those who live the monastic life. No one can or desires to hurt the virtuous monk. Cf. *Adv. opp. vitae mon.* 2 (MG 47.341D-42A): "Who would wish to hurt him who has nothing in common with men? . . . Over what land or slaves or honor will you quarrel with him? Over what fear or injury? Envy, fear, and anger move us to hurt others. Who will envy a man who scorns all the things for which other men toil and labor? Who will be angry with him who has done no harm? Who will fear him when there is no reason to suspect him? . . . Like the highflying eagle, he will not be caught in the nets set for sparrows."

⁵¹ Cf. *Hom. in Gen.* 9 (MG 53.76D-77A): "For grace is ready and seeks out those who are eager to receive it. That is the way our Master is: whenever He sees a soul that is watchful and burning with desire, He bountifully bestows His own abundance and, in His loving-kindness, He gives more than was asked. Since you know this, beloved, cleanse your heart of all worldly things, open to the full your understanding, and with great eagerness receive the gifts which the Spirit gives. Then, like a rich

and fertile land, you will multiply the seeds which are sown and you will bring forth fruit, one a hundredfold, another sixtyfold, and a third thirtyfold."

⁵² If a slave did get into the army and his servile condition was discovered, he was punished and dismissed from the ranks. Cf. *In prin. act.* 1 (MG 51.76A).

⁵³ Baptism is an enlistment in the army of Christ (cf. Stav. 1.1 and 8); In the *apotaxis* and *syntaxis*, the covenant with Christ puts the candidate in Christ's service and he is anointed for the combat (cf. Stav. 2.22). In this service, virtue of soul is all that matters; if we be willing to contribute our fair share, Christ does not ask whether we be slaves or free, physically sound or maimed in limb.

⁵⁴ Cf. *In 2 Tim.* 4 (MG 62.619C): "How great an honor it is to be a soldier of Christ! Think how great a thing those who serve in the armies of earthly kings consider their service to be. To take his share of hardship is the mark of the king's soldier; not to do so is the mark of one who is not a soldier. Therefore, if you take your share of hardship, do not be displeased, for this is the mark of a soldier; but you should be displeased if you do not take your share of hardship. *No man serving as a soldier entangles himself in worldly affairs, so that he may please the captain who enlisted him. And again, one who enters a contest is not crowned unless he has competed according to the rules* (cf. 2 Tim. 2.4-5)." Chrysostom may have had this chapter of 2 Tim. in mind; this would explain why we find the same sequence of thoughts in this and the following paragraph.

⁵⁵ Cf. *In prin. act.* 1 (MG 51.76A): "No slave participates in the games. . . . When the whole assemblage is seated, the herald cries out: Does any one accuse this man? He does this so that all suspicion of slavery may be removed before the contestant enters the contests. If the devil does not allow slaves in his contests, how do you who are a slave to sin dare to enter the contests of Christ?"

⁵⁶ Sawhill, in his *Athletic Metaphors in Chrysostom* (12 n. 2), points out that Chrysostom frequently uses "philosophy" in the sense of Christian training, religious contemplation, moral discipline, and the monastic life.

⁵⁷ Cf. *In prin. act.* 1 (MG 51.76A-B): "In the stadium the herald says: Does anyone accuse this man? But here [in Christ's contests] Christ does not speak in that way. Even if everybody shall accuse that man before his baptism, He says: I will accept him and set him free from his servitude; after I have made him a free man, I shall lead him to the contests. Did you see the loving-kindness of the Judge who presides over the contests? He does not ask about what happened before but seeks an account-

ing only of what comes after. When you were a slave, you had ten thousand accusers: your conscience, your sins, all the demons. None of these, He says, has moved me against you, nor did I consider you unworthy of my contests; I received you into my wrestling matches not because you deserve it but because of my loving-kindness."

⁵⁸ We find the same kind of "holy injustice" in Stav. 3.9; cf. *ibid.* n. 16.

⁵⁹ In his homily *In paralyticum* (MG 51.52C-53A) Chrysostom is discussing the cure of the paralytic at the pool of Bethesda and in commenting on the text: *Sin no more, lest something worse befall thee* (John 5.14), says: "It is possible to see His providence and clemency not only from this but also from what appears to be His censure. He did not make a parade of his sins, but He did say that he had suffered what he did suffer because of his sins. But He did not reveal what the sins were nor did He say: 'You committed this and that sin,' nor: 'You were guilty of this or that fault.' He expressed it, however, when He simply said: *Sin no more*; by saying only enough to remind the paralytic, He made him more zealous for the future and He revealed to us this man's patience, his fortitude, and his whole philosophy when He imposed on him the necessity of describing his whole trouble, and at the same time He showed us his zeal: *While I am coming, another steps down* [into the pool] *before me* (*ibid.* 7). But He did not make a parade of his sins. We do not wish our sins to be revealed, and God is more anxious than we to keep them concealed. Therefore, He performed the cure in the sight of all, but He gave His exhortation and counsel in private. . . . This happens also in baptism. God leads a man to the bath of waters but He reveals his sins to no one. No one else knows his sins except God and the sinner who has received forgiveness."

⁶⁰ Prov. 10.19. Chrysostom discusses at length the number and enormity of sins of speech in Montf. 1.30-35 (MG 49.228C-29B).

⁶¹ Songs, particularly the Psalms, are a great solace to the soul and at the same time a prayer to God. Cf. *Exp. in ps.* 41 (MG 55.156C-57C), where Chrysostom says that song elevates the soul, gives it wings, separates it from earth, frees it from the body, trains it in true doctrine. Song lulls infants to sleep; travelers ease the burden of the noonday road with song; farmers, vintners, sailors at their oars, women at their looms, all make their work lighter by singing. When we sing the Psalms with understanding and the tongue is heard by the soul, the grace of the Spirit flies down to us and sanctifies both tongue and soul. The monks are the great example of those who sing the praises of God. In *In 1 Tim.* 14 (MG 62.576A-C) Chrysostom tells how the monks arise at night and chant the Psalms while we are yawning, scratching, snoring, or simply

lying on our backs plotting ten thousand deceits. He quotes a hymn which the monks sing after their meager repast in *In Matt.* 56 (MG 58.545C-D): "O blessed God, who dost nurture me from my youth, who givest food to all flesh, fill our hearts with joy and gladness, so that we may have every sufficiency in every thing and may abound in every good work in Christ Jesus, our Lord, with whom be to thee glory, honor, and power, together with the Holy Spirit forever and ever. Amen. Glory to thee, O Lord, glory to thee, O Holy One, glory to thee, O King, because thou hast given us food for our joy. Fill us with thy Holy Spirit, that we may be found acceptable in thy sight and may not feel ashamed when thou wilt give to each one according to his works." For Chrysostom's opinions on the singing of psalms, see J. Quasten, *Musik und Gesang in den Kulturen der heidnischen Antike und christlichen Frühzeit* (Münster 1930) 141-46.

⁶² Cf. above, n. 56.

⁶³ For the story of the widow's mite, cf. Mark 12.41-44 and Luke 21.1-4.

⁶⁴ Cf. *In Matt.* 40 (MG 57.437D): "What else is gold but clay? What else is silver but straw? For silver, like straw, fans the flame of desire; gold, like clay, soils him who possesses it."

⁶⁵ Cf. *Serm. in Gen.* 3 (MG 54.590C-D): "Do you not see that those who wish to find precious stones do not sit high upon the shore and count the waves and in this way find what they seek? They go down into the depths; they endure great toil and much danger. And after they find them, there is no profit. What great contribution to our lives can be made by the discovery of precious stones? Rather, I wish that these stones would not contribute great evils! It is just this madness for wealth which ruins our lives and turns them upside down. Yet, these men risk body and soul and expose themselves to the dangers of the deep to seek their daily bread." There is a similar passage in *Hom. in Gen.* 14 (MG 53.111A-B).

⁶⁶ On this whole passage, cf. Stav. 1.34-38 and *In Phil.* 10 (MG 62.259B-60C), where Chrysostom inveighs against the wealth, luxury, and adornment which lead to envy and theft.

⁶⁷ Cf. Stav. 1.36 for a similar list of virtuous adornments.

⁶⁸ "That day" is the Day of Judgment.

⁶⁹ This ancient practice is well known, e.g., from Plato's *Apology* 34b-35b.

⁷⁰ In Stav. 1.28 conscience is the judge which cannot be bribed. Cf. *ibid.* n. 40.

⁷¹ 1 Tim. 2.9. Cf. Stav. 1.34 and *ibid.* n. 51.

⁷² Cf. paragraph 52 of this discourse.

⁷³ Cf. *In Matt.* 56 (MG 58.541A): "See how His words carry no compulsion. For He did not say that you must suffer this whether you are willing or not. How does He say it? *If anyone wishes to come after me* (Matt. 16.24). I do not force him or compel him; I make each man the master of his own choice. Therefore, I say: *If anyone wishes.*"

⁷⁴ 1 Cor. 7.23.

⁷⁵ Cf. Stav. 2.17 and *ibid.* notes 38-39; PK 3.19-26 (*Var. gr. sac.* 171-73) esp. 26.

⁷⁶ Cf. Stav. 2.20 and *ibid.* n. 45; Stav. 4.32; PK 3.25 (*Var. gr. sac.* 172). For the observance of days, cf. Gal. 4.10.

⁷⁷ Chrysostom exhorts the catechumens to shun omens in Stav. 1.39-40. Cf. *ibid.* n. 58. The list given there is enlarged in *In Eph.* 12 (MG 62.92B-94A): "The Greeks, indeed, fear things which are not sins, such as a dirty body, funeral rites, a bier, observances of days, and the like; but they make no account of things which are truly sins, such as pederasty, adultery, and prostitution. You might see a Greek washing himself after contact with a corpse, but not after contact with the deeds of death; you might see him showing great zeal in pursuit of wealth, but because his understanding is so clouded he thinks that the whole thing is settled by the crowing of a cock. Their souls are always full of fears, such as: 'So-and-so was the first to meet me as I stepped out of my house; all sorts of evils must befall me!' Again: 'My cursed slave, while giving me my shoes, held out the left one first; this means dread disasters and outrages for me.' And again: 'When I left the house, I stepped down with my left foot first; this is a sign of disaster.' These are the evils you encounter around the house. 'After I left the house, I felt a tic in my right eye; this means tears.'" Women, too, were prone to such superstitions; they saw good or bad omens in the sounds made by the loom or by the comb as they stroked the woof in their weaving. "These signs and ten thousand others are ridiculous. If a mule brays or a cock crows, or if someone sneezes, or anything at all happens, as if they were bound by ten thousand chains, they hold all things under suspicion, as do those who live in darkness; they are more enslaved than ten thousand slaves. Let us not act in this way. Let us ridicule all these things, as do those who live in the light; let us have our citizenship in heaven and have nothing in common with this world; let us consider that we have only one thing to fear, namely, offending God by sin. Where there is no offense to God, let us scorn all other things and the devil who proposes them. Let us give thanks to God for the things we have; let us be zealous, so that we are not caught in this slavery to omens. If we see any of our friends caught in it, let us break their chains, let us free them from this most dangerous and ridiculous prison. Let us unburden them

for the race to heaven; let us straighten out their wings which have grown heavy. Working on the side of life and sound doctrine, let us teach them to live a life of sound doctrine. Let us give thanks to God for all things; let us beseech Him that we may not be found unworthy of the gift which He has bestowed. Let us join them with ourselves in contributing our fair share, so that we may teach not only by word but also by deed, for in this way we will be able to obtain countless blessings."

⁷⁸ Matt. 5.28.

⁷⁹ Cf. PK 3.25 (*Var. gr. sac.* 172), where Chrysostom says that the cross has the strength of a wonderful amulet and a mighty incantation.

⁸⁰ Mark 1.24.

⁸¹ As was done when they were anointed on the forehead right after (or as part of) the ritual of renunciation of Satan and contract with Christ. Cf. Stav. 2.22 (and *ibid.* n. 49) and PK 3. 27 (*Var. gr. sac.* 173). For the sign of the cross (*σφραγίς*) as a protection, cf. Daniélou, *Bible and Liturgy* 56-57, who quotes Gregory of Nazianzus (MG 36.364A) and Didymus the Blind (MG 39.717B) to show that the seal was both a sign of ownership and a guarantee of protection for those so marked. Cf. F. J. Dölger, *Sphragis* (Paderborn 1911) 175-79.

⁸² Cf. Stav. 2.23 and PK 3.27 (*Var. gr. sac.* 173).

⁸³ The sign or seal (*σφραγίς*) is not only the brand which marks us as belonging to the flock of Christ, but it is also the sign that we are enlisted in His army. Cf. Daniélou, *Bible and Liturgy* 58-59.

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